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ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

Australia : Social Anthropology.

Capell.

Notes on the Njigina and Warwa Tribes, N.W. Australia. By A. Capell, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.

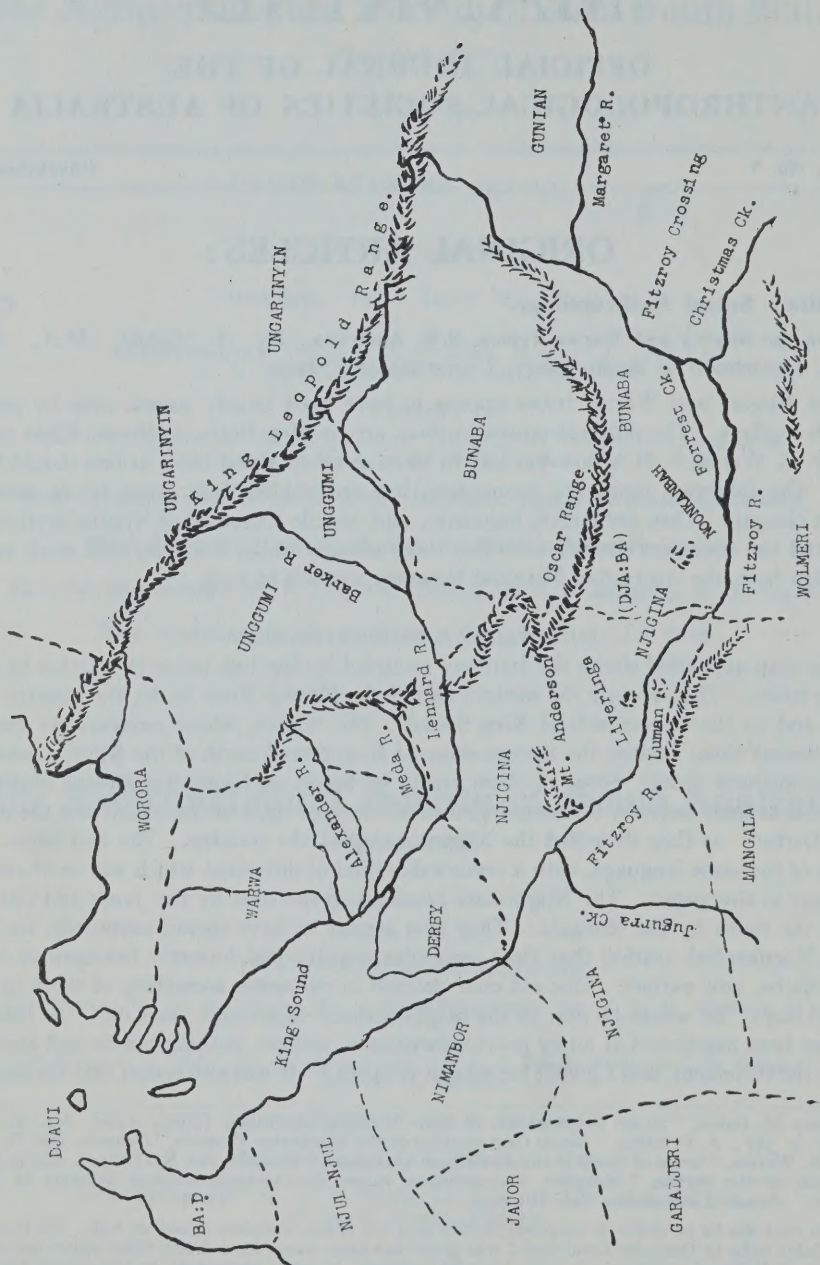
The Njigina and Warwa tribes appear to have been largely passed over by previous research workers. The only references to them are by Mrs. Bates, Professor Elkin and the Rev. Fr. E. Worms.¹ It is now too late to learn as much about them as one should like to know. The following notes are incomplete, but are published in order to do something to fill in the gap. They are largely linguistic, and include a number of Njigina mythological texts, and the work was done in a broken three months whilst I was on field work under a fellowship from the Australian National Research Council in 1939.

(I) LOCALITY AND RELATIONSHIPS

The map appended shows the territory occupied by the two tribes in relation to neighbouring tribes. They occupy the western half of the Fitzroy River basin, the country about Derby, and on the eastern side of King Sound. The Warwa, whose numbers are very few at the present time, occupy the eastern shore of King Sound north of the Njigina boundary, and the northern shore. Some of them are to be found on Kimberley Downs Station. I was told that their territory formerly included all the east coast of the Sound and the present site of Derby ; as they dwindled the Njigina occupied the country. The two tribes speak dialects of the same language, with a remarkable kind of difference which will be shown at a later stage in this paper. The Njigina are bounded on the west by the Jauor and Garadjeri and on the south by the Mangala. They also appear to have spread eastwards, for I was told at Noonkanbah station that that particular country had formerly belonged to a tribe called Dja:ba, now extinct. One old man claimed to remember something of them from his boyhood days ; he would be now in the neighbourhood of seventy years old. As this tribe has never been mentioned at all by previous writers or settlers, nothing can be said about the truth of the statement, and I give it for what it is worth.² It was also stated that the language

¹ Daisy M. Bates, "Social Organisation of some Western Australian Tribes, *Austr. Ass. Adv. Sci.*, Vol. XIV, p. 387 ; A. P. Elkin, "Social Organisation in the Kimberley Division," *Oceania*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 292 ; E. Worms, "Sense of Smell of the Australian Aborigines," *Oceania*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, and in general comparison of the myths, "Religiöse Vorstellungen einiger nordwestaustralischen Stämme in fünfzig Legenden," *Annali Lateranensi*, Vol. IV, 1940.

² The root *dja:ba* or *djābir* is frequent in this area for noise, senseless sound or talk. So there is a Djibir-djibir tribe in Dampier Land and I was given the same name for a desert tribe somewhere to the south-east of Wolmeri country. It may therefore perhaps be only equivalent to the Greek βάρβαρος, and mean a speaker of a foreign language ; in which case this *Dja:ba* may refer to a shrinking of the Bunaba, the eastern neighbours of the Njigina.



is spoken in two dialects, a northern and a southern, but as I was not in the country long enough to contact the hordes much to the south of the Fitzroy River, this statement also lacks substantiation, though it is perfectly likely. Professor Elkin in some unpublished field notes speaks of a "big" and "little" Njigina.

The affinities of the Njigina and Warwa tribes are interesting, particularly from the linguistic point of view, to which I shall return later. The Garadjeri and Mangala speak languages of a normal Australian type, in that grammatical relationships are shown by an elaborate agglutinative process of suffixation; the Njigina and Warwa, however, belong to the other great language-group of Australia, that which indicates person and number and to some extent tense in the verb, and certain other grammatical facts, by means of prefixes. In this they are at one with the tribes of Dampier Land and the whole Kimberley area north of the Fitzroy River.³ Their immediate affinities are with the Dampier Land tribes, both in language and social organization, but they have been under quite definite influence from the north in language (and in one important point of social organization) and at the same time from the Garadjeri-Mangala language group west and south, in spite of the different structural bases of Garadjeri and Njigina. Njigina in turn seems to have exercised a certain influence on the Mangala language, even in the comparatively stable matter of the first person singular of the cardinal pronoun: Gar. *ṇadju*, Njig., War. and Mang. *ṇaio*, "I," though the remaining Mangala pronouns agree with Garadjeri against Njigina. Some of these crossing lines of influences will be illustrated later from the Njigina language.

(2) SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Njigina social organization is very strongly akin to that of the Dampier Land tribes, i.e. it rests upon a four-section system with an Aranda type of kinship, descent being reckoned through four lines; but the sections are grouped into two moieties, not according to the Garadjeri system, but after a different manner, so that the moiety is matrilineal while the sections follow the normal sequence as in neighbouring tribes. The chief interest of the moiety grouping lies in the history of the names. The following is the scheme (for spelling, see Grammar section, *infra*):

Moiety I: <i>Waḍawi</i>		Moiety II: <i>Djiringun</i>	
A. <i>Garimba</i>	=	B. <i>Bäljäri</i>	
C. <i>Banaga</i>	=	D. <i>Buruṇu</i>	

No meanings are known for the section names, although it is true that in Njigina itself *garimba* is "bandicoot." The moiety names will be discussed below.

The same marriage arrangements are observed by the Njigina as by the Garadjeri, so far as the order of sections is concerned, and these are shown by the signs = in the diagram.

The moieties are exogamous; hence the grouping of Garimba with Banaga, not with Bäljäri, whom Garimba must marry. In the Garadjeri system, Garimba and Bäljäri are grouped together as an intermarrying pair of sections, and Banaga and Buruṇu as another

³ See A. Capell, "The Classification of Languages in North and North-West Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 244-5; No. 4, p. 411 ff.

intermarrying pair. The Njigina arrangement brings about the grouping of mother and child in the one moiety, and this is in keeping with the fact that the section system always works on the basis of the mother-child relationship. The same moiety grouping has come into the Nyul-Nyul of Dampier Land within very recent times; in fact it does not seem to have been there when Professor Elkin worked amongst them in 1928. Just how long it has been amongst the Njigina I did not find out, but it is probably only a degree less modern there also. About the Warwa I was not able to make enquiries on this point; the few natives met with were already too mixed.

The next question for discussion is the origin of the moiety names. The name *waḍawi* in the Northern Kimberley languages means "spotted nightjar" (*Eurostopodus guttatus*), and *djiringun* "owlet nightjar" (*Egotheles cristata*).⁴ Now Professor Elkin has shown that the Northern Kimberley tribes are divided into patrilineal moieties,⁵ and I was able to determine that the same arrangement holds good for the southernmost branch of these tribes, the Unggumi, who, although they number to-day perhaps hardly more than a dozen members, were of importance before the advent of the white man. They are also the northern neighbours of the Njigina. Amongst the Unggumi the moiety names are also *Waḍawi* and *Djiringun*, names which recur throughout the Northern Kimberlies, although in the western Ungarinyin country they are less commonly used than certain others given by Professor Elkin.⁶ A Njigina myth concerning these moiety birds is given below (Text II), but this is not the same as the rather commoner myth which I recorded in the Unggumi and Bunaba languages amongst others.

The most interesting phenomenon that appears in the comparison of the moiety names in the Northern Kimberlies and in Dampier Land and the Southern Kimberlies is the change that has taken place in the usage of them in each case. In the Northern Kimberlies the moieties are both exogamous and patrilineal. In the four section areas the attempt has been made to keep them exogamous, but it has meant that they have become matrilineal, as the diagram shows. If a *Garimba* man, being *Waḍawi*, must marry a *Djiringun* woman, in order to maintain the moiety exogamy, and if he must marry a *Bāljāri* woman in order to observe the section sequence, then, as the child will be *Buruṇu*, the other member of the *Djiringun* moiety, then a matrilineal moiety system results. There has been no revision of local rules of descent, either by the Njigina or by the Nyul-Nyul. Incidentally, the name *waḍawi* is in the Northern Kimberlies *woḍoi*, but *djiringun* becomes *djungun* in western Ungarinyin, while in eastern Ungarinyin and in Forrest River the bird is replaced by the native companion. In western Ungarinyin story *djungun* is the mate of *woḍoi*, and the word goes into the second, or feminine noun class.⁷ The more detailed relationships of these moiety names is beyond the scope of this present paper.

There seems to be no reason, however, to doubt that this moiety grouping of the sections is a direct point of influence from the Northern Kimberlies, for the names point northward. Whether they have been derived from the Unggumi, who have the bird names in their longer form, is doubtful, for the fact of their introduction into Dampier Land has to be remembered.

⁴ See letter from Rev. J. R. B. Love in *Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 2, p. 238.

⁵ A. P. Elkin, "Social Organisation in the Kimberley Division," *Oceania*, Vol. II, p. 296.

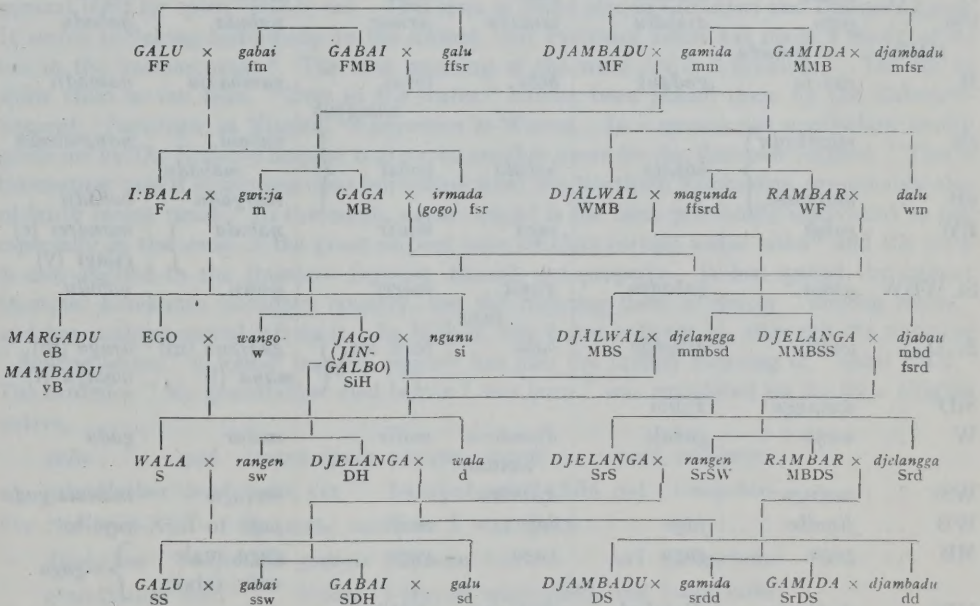
⁶ A. P. Elkin, "Studies in Australian Totemism," *Oceania Monograph* No. 2, p. 61.

⁷ See the *Wodongari* horde myth given in A. Capell, "Mythology in the Northern Kimberley, North-West Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 389. Mr. Love (*op. cit.*) notes that the same story is current in Worora also.

It would be necessary to prove that the Warwa had adopted them also, for Warwa and Nyul-Nyul used to be in very close contact.

Cutting across this moiety division there is another grouping of sections as well, which is shared with the tribes of Dampier Land. According to information supplied by Rev. Dr. Nekes, and contained in a letter from Rev. E. Worms, I find that Garimba and Baldjeri sections call each other *djandi*, while they call the other two sections *jinara*, and similarly, Banaga and Burong call each other *djandi* and call the other two sections *jinara*. This is the use of a common name for two intermarrying sections, as opposed to the other two intermarrying sections, which do not intermarry with the first two. A similar system is found in the Garadjeri, according to unpublished field notes by Professor Elkin.

The incidence of relationship terms among the Njigina is shown in the following table, where the speaker (EGO) is a man. Names of males are printed in capitals, those of females in small letters.



This system is in clear agreement with the Njul-Njul in its main points, though some of the terms agree better with the south and west. The chief difficulty is the appearance of *DJÄLWÄL* in successive generations, but several independent sources of information agree in stating that it is so. Comparison of the relationship terms with those of neighbouring tribes is shown in the table below. Njul-Njul and Garadjeri terms will be found in Professor Elkin's paper on Social Organization in the Kimberley Division (*op. cit.*, p. 298); those in Jauor, Mangala and Wolmeri are from my own field notes, as are the Njigina.

The comparative material in this table provides much of interest, which requires, however, a separate paper, on the distribution of relationship terms, for its elucidation. The varied applications of the same term in different languages call attention to varied degrees of emphasis on or regard for, a given relation, and the occurrence of the same terms outside this

area is interesting also. Thus, corresponding to the terms for MF above, Gidja, about Hall's Creek, has *daman*, FF and DH ; Murinbada, on the Fitzmaurice River, Northern Territory,⁸

English.	Njigina.	Garadjeri.	Jauor.	Njul-Njul.	Mangala.	Wolmeri.
MM and MMB	<i>gamida</i>	<i>gami</i>	<i>gamiḍa</i>	<i>gamaḍ</i>	<i>gamida</i>	<i>dada</i>
MF ..	<i>djambaḍu</i>	<i>djambaḍ</i>	<i>djamun</i>	<i>djam</i>	<i>djambaḍu</i>	<i>damiḍi</i>
FF, Sch	<i>galu</i>	<i>galudj</i>	<i>galu</i>	<i>galud</i>	<i>galu</i>	<i>dada</i> , FF <i>gilagi</i> DCh <i>gaḍu</i>
FM and FMB	<i>gabai</i>	<i>gabali</i> <i>djambaḍ</i> }	<i>gabale</i>	<i>gabil</i>	<i>gabale</i>	
F ..	<i>i:bala</i>	<i>djābālu</i>	<i>gogo</i>	<i>i:bal</i>	<i>wulu</i>	<i>ḡarbu</i>
FSi,	<i>gogo</i> ,	<i>djābālu</i>	<i>irmada</i>	<i>jirmor</i>	<i>ḡabula</i>	<i>ḡabaḍu</i>
MBW	<i>irmada</i>					
M ..	<i>gwi:ja</i>	<i>guḍanj</i>	<i>bebe</i>	<i>berai</i> , <i>wundjub</i>	<i>gambadja</i>	<i>ḡamadji</i>
eB ..	<i>mambaḍu</i> }	<i>babala</i>	<i>babala</i>	<i>babaḷ</i> }	<i>babala</i> , <i>mabaḍu</i>	<i>ḡanambaḍu</i>
yB ..	<i>margaḍu</i> }				<i>margaḍu</i>	<i>babadji</i>
BW ..	<i>gabai</i>		<i>jago</i>	<i>malir</i>	<i>ḡabula</i> }	<i>manderi</i> (e) <i>gilagi</i> (y) <i>ḡabulu</i>
Si, WBW	<i>ḡunu</i>	<i>gabadju</i>	<i>ḡunu</i> , <i>jago</i>	<i>maḡer</i>	<i>ḡunu</i>	
S, D ..	<i>wala</i>	<i>djugodo</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>ba:b, wal</i> }	<i>gadjana</i> (m) <i>maḡa</i> (f)	<i>djugu</i> (m) <i>walagu</i> (f)
SiD ..	<i>djelanga</i>	<i>djālbi</i>				
W ..	<i>waḡo</i>	<i>gabali</i>	<i>djando</i> = woman	<i>malir</i>	<i>malar</i>	<i>gaḍu</i>
WSi ..	<i>malugu</i>		<i>djimara</i>		<i>malugu</i>	<i>manula gaḍu</i>
WB ..	<i>jijalbo</i>	<i>jago</i>	<i>jago</i>	<i>maḷb</i>	<i>jago</i>	<i>jijalbo</i>
MB ..	<i>gaga</i>	<i>gaga</i>	<i>gaga</i>	<i>gaga</i>	<i>gaga</i> , male wife, taboo }	= <i>gaga</i>
MBS ..	<i>djelanga</i>	<i>djambaḍ</i> , <i>jago</i>	<i>djelanga</i>	<i>djälil</i>		
SiH ..	<i>jago</i>	<i>djambaḍ</i>		<i>maḷb</i>	<i>jago</i>	<i>ḡumbaḡa</i>
SW ..	<i>raḡen</i>	<i>djälbi</i>	<i>raḡen</i>	<i>raḡen</i>	<i>ḡunjäri</i>	<i>ḡunjäri</i>
DH ..	<i>rambar</i> , <i>djelanga</i>	<i>djelanga</i>	<i>djāminjir</i>	<i>gaga</i> <i>djāminjir</i>	<i>gaga</i>	<i>lambaru</i> , <i>gaga</i>
WF ..	<i>rambar</i>	<i>gaga</i>	<i>djāminjir</i>	<i>gaga</i> <i>djāminjir</i>	<i>gaga</i> , male	<i>lambaru</i> , <i>gaga</i>
WM ..	<i>daḷu</i>	<i>daḷu</i>	<i>daḷu</i>	<i>jälir</i>	male	<i>ma:li</i>
WMB ..	<i>djälwāl</i>	<i>daḷu</i>	<i>rambar</i>	<i>rambar</i>	<i>baḡu</i>	<i>baḡu</i>

⁸ See W. E. H. Stanner, "Murinbada Kinship and Totemism," *Oceania*, Vol. VII, No. 2 ; some terms are quoted here also from my own field notes.

has *damun*, FF, *wagal*, S, D (cf. Dampier Land *wala*), *gaga*, WM, WF, *bebe*, FSi, m MBW (see terms for "mother" above), *gawu*, MM, Sch., *lambara*, SiS. The last-mentioned is common property in the Northern Kimberlies and the intervening area also, and *margadu*, yB, and *rambar*, as a term for the taboo relationships, is also widespread. It is not possible to go more fully into this matter here.

(3) LIFE AND DEATH

Information collected under these heads was very sparse, but a few notes are worth recording.

Birth.

These tribes have the same beliefs as regards spirit children as their neighbours, and the general term for spirit child is *rai*. This term is found also in Garadjeri and Dampier Land. It seems to belong historically to the former, and Professor Elkin has made a study of its use in the various areas.⁹ The root meaning of the word *rai* is "invisible." The *rai* as spirit child *we:lan iyan*, "lives in the water," having been placed there by the Rainbow-Serpent, 'Junurugu, in Njigina, 'Wanguman in Warwa. In a manuscript vocabulary kindly given me by Dr. Kaberry *wungur* is given as another name for the Rainbow Serpent. This is interesting, and it is another clear borrowing from the Northern Kimberlies, presumably also of fairly recent times. In the north, *ungur*, *ungud* is the term practically equivalent to *rai*, especially in the sense of the great serpent who inhabits certain water holes¹⁰ and the term is also applied to the Rainbow Serpent, though not properly. It has spread throughout Dampier Land into Garadjeri country, but the meaning there is simply "flowing water," and has nothing sacred left in it. In Njigina this is not entirely so, although the meaning "flowing water" is found, *wungur*, *ungur*¹¹ has also the further meaning of "spirit child." The sentence "My grandfather died before I was born" was translated for me by a Njigina native,

gaļu gud imana djada ŋaŋana ungur malo ŋalabana.
grandfather dead went yet I-stayed spirit-child not I-saw-him.

For the Njul-Njul of the same sentence I was given:

djamdjam indjimban gaḍiŋir ŋaŋinan rai, ari ŋalagaban.
grandfather died before I-stayed spirit-child, not I-was-born.

Another expression for the spirit-home is shown in the question (Njigina)

djānābu we:la njimbulan, "from what water did you come?"
where-from water you-came

in Warwa *jāŋgi djia Wanguman*? "who your Rainbow-serpent?" as well as, e.g. *djana djia waŋo imbulen*? "where did your wife come from?"

The child is found in dreaming, as elsewhere. Notes by Professor Elkin¹² mention the case of a man who while asleep at Jadugara¹³ dreamed of his son playing with a frog (*-ŋamina*)

⁹ A. P. Elkin, *Studies in Australian Totemism*, pp. 53 ff.

¹⁰ A. P. Elkin, *op. cit.*, p. 69; but see also my "Mythology in the Northern Kimberley Division," *Oceania*, Vol. IX, No. 4, where this is shown to be a later development of the *ungur* idea.

¹¹ In all these languages the lip-rounding of an initial *u*- tends to produce the effect of a *w*- before it.

¹² A. P. Elkin, unpublished field notes, kindly placed at my disposal.

¹³ A. Jauor-Garadjeri horde country.

at Ingadina. The frog became the totem of the boy. The term *buru*, "camp," is used also for horde-country and birth-place. A typical birth story is given here. It was told by a man named Bunda (who also gave part of the first two mythological texts below) at Yeeda Station.

yaio naana lingura. Inana wai lingura. yaio iai.
I was salt-water crocodile. He-speared creature crocodile. I spirit-child.
ginjabu yaio jaria' nana, galea gwi:ja nana nadjanu namana, ginjabu nan-galibina.
Then I disappear, then mother to my I-went, then I-was-born.

"I was a salt water crocodile. (My father) speared the crocodile. I was the spirit child. Then I came out (?) and went into my mother and so I was born." There is mention also of the little spear (*ungalga*, Njul-Njul *wongalg*) which the spirit-child drops. The child thus enters the mother, *nunun inganin*, "in-belly he-grows," and finally *ingalaban*, "he is brought forth."

The phrases used for "being born" are of interest in reflecting native thinking on the subject. One has occurred in the preceding text, and this word is shared with the Dampier Land languages. The question "Where were you born?" is asked in several ways. (1) Njigina *djānan njimbulan*, "where-at did you come?", with the answer, e.g. *nja:n nambulan*, "here-at I came." (2) Warwa similarly *djāna njimbulen*, answered by *njingan nambulen*, but in Warwa also *djāna gul nambidinejo*? "where did she lay you?", answered by *njunu nambidinanu*, "this way she laid me." *Gul* means "horizontal" and in Njig. *gulin jug iman*, "he lies down to sleep," War. *gulin gaiālu*, "he sleeps." In the Northern Kimberley languages this term *gulin* is again used for being born, but also for a bird laying eggs, and the two processes seem to be equated in the native mind: the bird "bears" an egg as the mother "bears" a child. The same idea lies behind the Warwa expression.

Degrees.

The various degrees of initiation I am unable to describe in detail, but the names compare very well with the degree names in surrounding languages, except that Nos. 5 and 6 have changed places in Dampier Land; the Njigina follows the Garadjeri usage. Compare

No.	Njigina.	Garadjeri.	Jauor.	Njul-Njul.
1	<i>baba</i>	<i>woba</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>ba:b</i>
2	<i>miāngu</i>	<i>miāngu</i>	<i>bālil</i>	<i>bālil</i>
3	<i>djāmānūngor</i>	<i>djāmānūngor</i>	<i>djāmānūngor</i>	<i>djāminingor</i>
4	<i>gambil</i>	<i>gambil</i>	<i>gambil</i>	<i>gambil</i>
5	<i>gunana</i>	<i>buṇana</i>	<i>rungor</i>	<i>rungor</i>
6	<i>rungor</i>	<i>rungor</i>	<i>buṇana</i>	<i>buṇan</i>
7	<i>biljbor</i>	<i>gulagula</i>		

A general account of the Garadjeri rites is given by Dr. Piddington and of the Bard by Professor Elkin.¹⁴ Term No. 2 is also found in Wolmeri. No. 7 is hardly a degree name; *biljbor* is simply a young married man. A few other words in Dr. Kaberry's MSS vocabulary may be given also: *balgai*, circumcised boy (i.e. at *miāngu* stage); *gumbari*, "namesake," as in Garadjeri, while two persons born on the same day but of different parents are called *djimari*, also the Garadjeri term for the stone circumcision knife.

¹⁴ R. Piddington, "Karadjeri Initiation," *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 46; A. P. Elkin, "Initiation in the Bard Tribe, North-West Australia," *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1936, p. 190, and E. Worms, "Initiationsfeiern in Nord-Westaustralien," *Annali Lateranenses*, 1938.

Death.

The word *guḍ* means "dead" and is constructed with the verb "to go" as an auxiliary: Nj. *guḍ imana*, War. *guḍ ṇindan*, "he went dead," "he died." The home of the dead is *gular*, "west." Dr. Kaberry's vocabulary has *kala* in Wolmeri; this may be the same word. The soul is *biljur*, as in Garadjeri and Dampier Land, and also *balayan*, *ṇari*, both of which words however connote rather "ghost." More will be said of this below. The burial rites among the Warwa consisted of three stages, (i) tree-platform burial, (ii) after which the bundle of bones, called *gumin*, was placed on antbed to be cleaned, and finally (iii) they were buried, but the hair was preserved. A Warwa informant summarized the old usage thus:

Gandirin ṇana wa:ra guḍ ṇindandjāri. Warandi gandirin, djena:wuru wa:ra.

Platform to take him-who-had-died. Remove platform, (to) antbed take.

Wiril warandianu, ṇaio i:bala, wa:raṇan' ṇaio. Djundān ṇambandjina, ganayhama

Hair bring-me, I father, I-will-take-charge. I-twisted (it) myself, I-shall-tell
laṇara ṇaio.

true I.

There were various mourning groups, whose members, however, I am unable to define. One mob was called *djāgin*, *buḍumiri djāgin*, "big mob not eat," which observed food taboos, its diet being limited to water, fish and honey, apparently over several years. Kangaroo was disallowed: "dead man bin spear him kangaroo." The Warwa informant said:

Walaia iṇandjanu mandja, djarmunḡa mandja.

honey is-to-me much fish much.

and he added *bilir jāb ṇindan*, *waḍia ṇindan*, "the spirit goes away, it goes west," agreeing with the Njigina and interpreting *gular* (W. *waḍia*), in the same way. In point of fact the territorial extensions of the Njigina have nearly all been from west to east, so that this home of the dead may, as in the case of other peoples, be an indicator of the old tribal home. Certain relatives of the dead man covered themselves with mud and avoided the corpse. These were called *galgara*. Another group wore a special string (*gunduwundu*) about their necks and were called *madu*.¹⁵

It would seem that reincarnation was admitted, as in Dampier Land, for a Njigina informant said that the *biljur*, *ṇari* or *balayan* went into a *biliṇin* tree and could come back after death. This mention of trees may connect with a point made by Professor Elkin.¹⁶ The Njul-Njul had previously told me as follows:

Wali wa:mb dḡin baṇman. Gaḍen injio. ɾai inamangad badangidjin.

Creature man his totem. Cave he took. Spirit inhabits its-tree.

Wa:mb indjimbān, ɾai djāguḍ indjon luygunḡ. Warinḡi wa:mb injio bilei ɾai

Man dies, spirit returns in-cave. Another man took again spirit
welagunḡ.

from-water.

"Some creature is a man's totem. It dwells in the cave. The spirit-child inhabits a tree. When a man dies, his spirit goes back into the cave. Another man later takes the

¹⁵ The last three words are from Dr. Kaberry's MSS.

¹⁶ A. P. Elkin, "Initiation in the Bard Tribe, North-West Australia," *Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S.W.*, 1936, p. 207. Trees are also connected with sorcery in Dampier Land, according to Professor Elkin's unpublished field notes.

spirit-child out of water." The text is in the Njul-Njul language, and the idea that came out in discussion is that the *iai* are connected not only with a water-hole but with some tree on the banks of it, stated to be a *bilawal*, red gum. This, however, applies to *iai* in general, not simply to those awaiting reincarnation. The Njigina reference to trees applies only to the latter, and it may have a closer connection with Northern Kimberley belief, for I have a rather fuller Ungarinyin text in the same strain.¹⁷ This particular form of reincarnation belief may therefore be another influence from the north. It is a curious thing, however, that my Unggumi informants, whose country intervenes between the Njigina and Ungarinyin, denied reincarnation, saying definitely *weaniga dja:li baygunu*, "he does not come back."

Among the Njigina there was also belief in non-human spirits, for whom the names given above might be used, but they might be called *djiŋargi*. An informant said

djiŋargi wa:mba ŋaru, bi:ran iŋan. . Imbulan, wa:mba inban, ŋul inman,
demon man like in-bush he-stays. He-comes, man he-sees, blow he-gives,
galea wa:mba daḍaḷ iŋan, guḍ iman.
then man sick he-is, dead he-goes.

"The demon resembles a man. He lives in the bush. He comes along and sees a man, and strikes him. Then the man sickens and dies." Consequently the *djiŋargi* was an object of fear and the only man who could deal with him was the *djälŋgaŋoro*, the sorcerer. Unfortunately I have no details on the subject of this important personage.

Totemism.

There is very little that can be said on this subject. The general outlines of totemic belief appear to be much as in Dampier Land, with one difference. The totem is called *djälŋga*, a word whose rather wide usages have been discussed by Professor Elkin.¹⁸ Amongst those mentioned in the Njigina genealogies included in Professor Elkin's unpublished notes are *magiŋa* (black plum tree), *wonŋalina* (large kangaroo), *gulabil* (Jauor, turtle), *ŋamina* (frog), *ganbar* (centipede). From the same notes it seems that the totem is not necessarily connected with the special *buŋu* (in either sense, horde-country or birthplace) but at least *can* be a kind of conception totem. In the case mentioned above, when the child's father dreamed of the boy's playing with a frog at Ingadina (though the dream took place at Jadugara in Jauor country), the *ŋamina* (frog) became the boy's totem, and both places are reckoned as his *buŋu*. He does not inherit the totem of either parent. In the same genealogy, the same father, while at Baljernandjali in Garadjeri country, dreamed of his unborn daughter as playing with a centipede (*ganbar*), which became her totem. My Njul-Njul informants connected the totem, by them called as in Garadjeri *banman*, with a spirit centre, not with a country (*bor*). Professor Elkin¹⁹ notes that among the Dampier Land tribes "any one totem belongs to two sections only, those of father and child, which is, of course, what is to be expected from the patrilineal descent of the totem." The quotation given above from the genealogies would suggest that this is not so among the Njigina (who also lack the name *banman* for totem), but the evidence is really insufficient to be conclusive.

A. CAPELL.

(To be continued)

¹⁷ See translation in A. Capell, "Mythology in the Northern Kimberley," *Oceania*, Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 385.

¹⁸ A. P. Elkin, *op. cit.*, p. 58, footnote 11.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

Australia : Material Culture.**McCarthy.**

Some New Records of Tanged Implements and Pounders in Eastern Australia. By Frederick D. McCarthy, *Dip. Anthr. (Syd.)*, Curator of Anthropology, Australian Museum.

The tanged implements known as the *Yodda* and *Mena* types are so rare in Australia that records of new examples are of some interest. To date about fifteen of the *Yodda*-type have been reported in the eastern half of Australia, and twelve of the *Mena*-type have been recorded from the Innisfail-Johnstone River district of north-east Queensland, to which area their distribution is limited. One record states that the *Mena*-type was used for stripping fibre from the *Vebena* tree, and also as a whetstone for sharpening axe-blades; Casey (1936, p. 91) remarked that the shape of the implement is not particularly well suited for either function. Otherwise, nothing is known about the use of either type. The *Mena*-type would make an excellent club-head if bound to a shaft with the tang projecting; as one example in the Australian Museum bears a ground blade on the tanged end, it is probable that the type was used both as a club and chopping implement. The *Yodda*-type was probably used as an axe at both ends of the broad oval head, with the tang as a handle, because it is really a composite axe with the handle and head in one piece. It is important to remember that the *Yodda*-type occurs in New Guinea, Philippine islands and Borneo, and probably other islands in this region, so that the problem of its significance in Australia is intimately bound up with the elucidation of the archæology, particularly in the Neolithic period and Bronze age of the Oceanic region.

YODDA-TYPE

Three new examples are recorded in this paper.

(1) Mr. L. Glauert, Director of the Western Australian Museum, kindly brought over to me for examination a very fine specimen of this implement. It was presented to that Museum by a Mr. Williams-Hunt, in 1950, together with some other Australian implements, all unlocalized unfortunately. This example, made of a greenish-black basalt, is 27 cm. long, up to 4 cm. thick, and the oval head is 23 cm. wide. It weighs 4½ lb. It is lenticular in section on both head and tang. The margins are flaked all around from each surface to a central polished but blunt edge. The flaked area is a bevel from 2 to 3.5 cm. wide but is wider in two places. The whole of the flaked area is smooth, due to water rolling or weathering by exposure, and the smooth undulations of its flaked surfaces have replaced the sharp inter-scar ridges. The inner area of both surfaces of the broad head is a pitted surface, and it is difficult to decide whether the pitting is due to weathering or to pecking. Signs of use are obvious in three places. Both ends of the head are convex polished working-edges, about 4.5 cm. long, and from one a large flake, 7 × 4 cm. in size, has been knapped after the specimen had been rolled or weathered. There are three smaller flake-scars on the edge within the larger scar. Whether these flakes were struck off during subsequent use by an aborigine, or by a white man in his curiosity to test the implement, I cannot say. Several smaller pieces have also been knocked off one side of the end of the tang.

(2) Mr. H. R. Balfour, of Toorak, Victoria, has sent to me details and photographs of a specimen that he acquired recently. It is crudely flaked around the edges on both sides, with no signs of use or of use-polish, pecking or grinding, and is an implement in the making. It is lenticular in section, 20 cm. long, 5 cm. thick, and the head is 18.5 cm. wide. It weighs 4 lb. 6 oz. The inner area on both sides is a flat cortex surface, and the implement has been

TANGED IMPLEMENTS AND POUNDERS IN E. AUSTRALIA.



Fig. 1. Yodda-type, Western Australian Museum collection. Fig. 2. Yodda-type, Mr. R. H. Balfour's collection. Fig. 3. Mena-type, Mr. R. H. Balfour's collection.

made from a water-worn pebble of dark grey metamorphosed sandstone veined with cream and yellow quartz. It was found by Mr. Ivor Jones (of Wonboyn Lake, New South Wales) in 1950 at Mt. Buckle in the north-eastern corner of Victoria, close to the border of New South Wales. He was informed that the site was a fighting ground of the local aborigines in the early days, and it was actually found in an area occupied by a tribe whose headquarters were at Nimgatta Station. Mr. Jones subsequently gave the specimen to Mr. Balfour.

(3) Mr. J. M. Clift, of Giligulgul Station, Darling Downs, Queensland, possesses another partly made example found by his brother, Mr. Joseph Clift, near the Condamine River, some miles above the Condamine township, in 1950. Part of it was exposed in the bank of a gully or depression in which it was embedded. It is 24 cm. long, up to 3.1 cm. thick, the head is 15.3 cm. wide, and it weighs 5½ lb. It is lenticular in section and is crudely flaked on both surfaces, but an area of natural cortex is present on one side. There are no signs of pecking or polishing, and the specimen is obviously partly made. The material is metamorphosed shale.

MENA-TYPE

Mr. Balfour has also sent me details of a fine example of this implement, ploughed up in 1950 at South Johnstone, north-eastern Queensland, by Mr. T. Storrs on his farm. He presented it to Mr. Balfour. It is carefully polished all over its various surfaces, and the flat but concave top is scratched with fine lines. It is 14 cm. long, 2.3 cm. thick, the head is 20.8 cm. wide, the tang is 3.5 cm. wide, and the flat top 1.7 cm. wide. It weighs 13½ oz.

MURRUMBA-TYPE POUNDER

During a recent visit to Brisbane I discovered two specimens of an hitherto unrecorded type of pounding implement, as follow:

QE-2767, Queensland Museum. Pyramidal in shape, the top being a ridge which terminates in three flat faces, two of which are cortex surfaces. The specimen is knapped



Fig. 4. Murrumba-type, Queensland University collection.

from both ends, and the flake-scars are comparatively large. Its sides are convex on one half, and the other half consists of three similar flake-scars which run inwards, giving the top portion in this area a definite overhang as shown in the photograph. A number of scattered

and small flake-scars are present around the bottom edge of the flaked faces. The oval base is flat and rubbed, with slightly rounded edges. The implement is $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, the base is $3\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and it weighs 3 lb. 13½ oz. The material is a medium grey hornblende trachyte.

4858. The second specimen is in the University of Queensland collection. It is similar to the above one, and is made of the same material. Its base is more triangular in shape, however, and is $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, the implement being 5 inches high and 2 lb. 4 oz. in weight. It is from Murrumba, in the Esk district, on the Brisbane River, 50 miles from Brisbane, Queensland. I am grateful to Dr. L. P. Winterbotham for permission to describe it.

The flat oval base is the working surface of these two implements, which are held in the hand by the pyramidal top. They form a distinct type in the Australian lithic series, although no use is recorded with either of them. It is improbable that they are bark-cloth beaters; a crude, brown bark-cloth was made at Cairns and neighbouring coastal areas but it was beaten with a hardwood beater (Roth, 1910, Sect. 65). The only other description of this process is that given by Howitt (1904, p. 538) for the south coast of New South Wales, where the cloth, made for ceremonial ornaments, was beaten with the back of a tomahawk. The *Murrumba*-type is probably a combined food pounder and grinder, used on a mortar, in a similar manner to the pestle and mortar of the Polynesians. It resembles the Polynesian *poi* pounder. The possibility exists, of course, that these implements were made by some of the Pacific Islanders introduced into Queensland during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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F. D. MCCARTHY.

Australia: Social Anthropology.

Berndts.

A Selection of Children's Songs from Ooldea, Western South Australia. By Ronald and Catherine Berndt,¹ Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.

During our field work in the Ooldea area, western South Australia, carried out between June and December of 1941, we obtained a representative collection of secular songs from adults and children. The expedition took place under the auspices of the Australian National Research Council and the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University; a summary of our work during the period is published in "A Preliminary Report of Field Work in the Ooldea Region, Western South Australia,"² henceforward referred to as *Report*.

¹ The series of papers dealing with material collected at Ooldea is written jointly. The detailed observations in this paper were recorded by R. M. Berndt.

² Ronald and Catherine Berndt, "A Preliminary Report of Field Work in the Ooldea Region, Western South Australia," *Oceania Reprint*, 1945, pp. 1-343, or *Oceania*, Vol. XII to Vol. XV, inclusive, 1942-1945.

The following one hundred and forty-four songs are sung by boys between the ages of four and seventeen years—that is, until they are taken away for their preliminary initiation rites and are termed “bush-boys.” Young men over this age have a different set of secular songs to sing, as have the adult married men, but the demarcation between the “song-singing” stages is not clearly defined and an older person may inadvertently revert to the songs of the group below. This is particularly the case with those songs pertaining to the erotic or to spirit life. A certain number of songs are common to both sexes, but the women have a group of songs of their own, which are unknown to the men. Girls up to the age of fourteen years sometimes join in with the singing of boys, but when they are alone with their own sex they sing the songs which are peculiar to their age-stage.

It is regretted that a recording machine was unobtainable during the period of our field work, as a collection of some hundreds of songs, both sacred and non-sacred, could have been recorded permanently with each individual rhythm. The complexities and variations of these rhythms require far more attention than they have hitherto received.³ To be able to sing the words of a song, the Ooldea native must first recall its particular rhythm.

Many of the following boys' songs were recorded at their own “play about” ceremonies (*'inmain'ganja:ku*) in the evenings, or when one of us happened upon them singing in a group out in the bush during the day. The most satisfactory recordings were made when a party of boys, their ages ranging from seven to sixteen years, collected near the expedition's camp. On the rise of a sand-ridge, with acacia bushes as a wind-break, they would form a circle around a small fire about an hour before sun-down after our normal day's work with adults. Even before we sat down in their circle they had begun their singing, beating time to the rhythmic chant. Usually about seven to ten songs were sung during the hour, as at sundown they would return to the main camp for their evening meal. Different boys would come down, each taking it in turn to give songs.

The procedure was as follows. The chief informant was usually either *'Jaṇana*, *'Umbing* or *'Tedia* (Teddy, a half-caste) who described the meaning and inference of each word together with the meaning of the song. All details were discussed amongst themselves before they gave their definite opinion on certain matters pertaining to the song. In this way a great many interesting details were noted which would have otherwise been lost. Each boy would think for a while, then recalling a song would sing it over to himself to see if he had it right—a friend might correct or transpose a word—then they would all join in and sing it over several times. They would then give the words, and sing it over again so that these could be checked. When this was completed the next boy would think for a while and sing his song, and so on. If one boy could not think of a song he would be laughed at by the others.

To obtain correct versions of each song it is advisable to get the singer to speak each word after the singing, then after recording the text to check it with the singing again. If one were to attempt to record (i.e. without an intimate knowledge of the language) directly from the song, one's phonetic rendering of the words would barely resemble that recorded from speaking;

³ Vide E. H. Davies, “Aboriginal Songs of Central and South Australia,” *Oceania*, Vol. II, pp. 454-67; and the same author's paper, “Aboriginal Songs,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, Vol. LI, pp. 81-92.

This also applies particularly to the songs of the Northern Territory natives. Large collections have been made by R. and C. Berndt in western New South Wales, northern South Australia, Central Australia, western central and northern regions of the Northern Territory and along the coast, Arnhem Land and on adjacent islands. Special Survey and Australian National Research Council (with the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University), 1941-1947 and 1949-1950.

the same words. This is due to the fact that in the song the rhythm is of greater importance than the words—hence the words are distorted from their original forms. The words of a song create in the minds of both the singer and listener a particular picture described by those words; but this is also true of the rhythm of a particular song, when it is rendered without the actual words. However, a song is rarely sung without its words, as the two are interdependent. If one is very well acquainted with the language one can understand the words of a song however broad they be. The broadening or distortion of words is observed more in the sacred songs than in the profane. Sometimes the words are clearly enunciated, especially when the words are of importance, and there is the wish that they be digested. This applies particularly to the singing of erotic songs.

The songs have been recorded in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association⁴ with variations and modifications mentioned in the *Report*.⁵

The Song.

All songs, whether sung by adult or child, are said to be of 'tju:kabi⁶ inspiration and origin; the word 'tju:kabi expresses the concept of the "eternal dream-time." It is said further that they have all come from the west. It is considered however that they were not all composed in the ancestral dream-time, but that the word 'tju:kabi when used in reference to these songs means only that they bear the sanction of that conception. In this they differ from those sacred mythological songs that are directly of 'tju:kabi inspiration and origin and are eternal. In the secular songs words may at times be transposed, altered or omitted altogether. It may be that in one generation a man will arise who will be universally hailed by the Ooldea natives as a "song maker." The power which he would possess and which would guide his song-making would be 'tju:kabi. In this manner some new songs would become popular, and other older ones fall into disuse; but rarely would the latter be altogether forgotten.

Children at an early age are taught songs and dance steps by their elders, principally by the paternal or maternal grandparents.⁷ Older children learn new ones from their elder brothers. A child may know several hundred songs and will sing them on different occasions.

These songs represent too the standard poetry of the Ooldea children, although they are never spoken but only sung. Within these are mirrored many aspects of Ooldea life; they deal with those things which really interest them and of which they find great pleasure in singing.

The words of a song are really "key words"; some suggest scenes, while others induce certain conditioned responses. When a child, man or woman—as the case may be—is told a certain song, he or she is enlightened as to the exact significance of certain words, which would appear irrelevant if one were not aware of their context. (This is much the same as in the songs and poetry of China.)⁸ In the case of some of the songs set out in this paper an adequate explanation of their meaning was not available, the informant himself being unable to give it since either he had forgotten or it had been lost in a preceding generation. In these songs are found words that are not used in general conversation; some are archaic, while others are

⁴ G. Noël-Armfield, *General Phonetics*, 1931.

⁵ Under the heading of "Language," *Oceania Reprint*, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-292 (or Vol. XV, No. I, 1944, pp. 50-80).

⁶ Pronounced also 'tjukabi, 'djugabi and 'dʒu:kabi, and by the women 'dugu(r)ba.

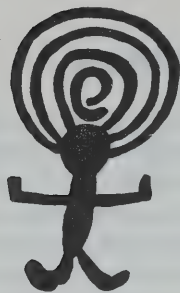
⁷ R. and C. Berndt, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 329, footnote 49 (or *Oceania Reprint*, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

⁸ Marcel Granet, *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China*, 1932.

Fig. A.



dancer

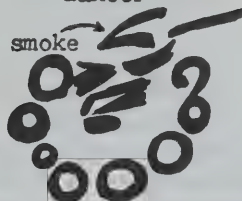


dancer

The 'inma:'da:li:
(head-dress)

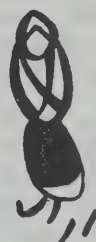


'inma: pole with
instructor



smoke

the circles represent
singers around the fire.



A blazing fire around which
the boys dance.

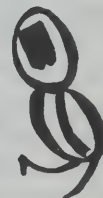
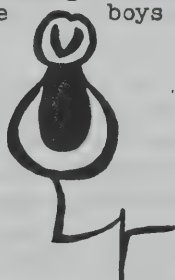


Fig. B.

Boys in various dancing positions.

- A. A boys' ceremony held during the evening. Drawn in white chalk by John, whose native name is 'Gumanu, aged ten years.
- B. A group of boys in various dancing positions around a blazing fire on the 'inma ground. This drawing is in red-ochre lumber crayon with yellow colouring used partly in the fire. The attitudes of the dancers are conventionally represented and appear more accentuated when re-drawn in indian ink than in the original medium. This was drawn by Hughie, whose native name is Am'baga, aged eleven years.

used only in song and story-telling. The distortion of words was noted above, but this happens not only in the singing. When transcribing a song, one will find that words in common use are sometimes altered. One might term this a form of "poetic licence."

If one is really to appreciate the charm and aesthetic value of these Ooldea songs, some knowledge of the cultural background is essential. It is with this consideration that the authors lay stress on the desirability of the reader's studying these songs in conjunction with the *Report*, where a summary of Ooldea society is given.

The 'Inma In'ganja:ku.

After the evening meal, the children, particularly the boys, make fires on the fringe of the camp and begin their '*inma*'. They sit in circles of twelve to fifteen before a cleared space, which is the '*inma* ground.'⁹ Upon the latter the older boys sometimes dance, painting themselves with ochres and wearing the wreath-shaped head-dress termed the '*inma'dali*' (of simple construction, less complicated than those worn by the young men). These dances, called '*inma in'ganja:ku* or *in'gandji* (lit. "play about"), are not attended by adults, but may be under the surveillance of an initiated man or of a young man who has gone through his first stage of initiation. He instructs the dancers as to their dance steps, and also suggests which songs may be sung. At such dances, an instructor was often observed to be present; before the dancing he would sit with a group of older boys (14 to 17 years) and carry on a lengthy conversation on various matters connected with an '*inma*'.¹⁰ Boys mostly dance with bent knees, stamping the ground with alternate feet. When danced quickly and moving forward this is most effective, as it churns up the sand. Sometimes a pole is erected at one end of the '*inma* ground and the dancers move towards it and away several times.

The singers round a fire beat time to the rhythmic chant with wooden batons or clubs. Often small girls are present, sitting either in the circle of singers or just nearby. All songs are repeated a number of times, about twelve to fifteen being sung during an evening's entertainment. The same song is maintained through a dance, varying only when the step of the dancing changes. Such an '*inma*' is usually over by 9 or 9.30 p.m.—half an hour to an hour earlier than those held by the young men.

It is not only during the evening that boys sing their songs, but on every occasion; when walking to and from the soak, idly sitting on a sand-ridge, or when they are alone. Sometimes in the latter part of the afternoon they will assemble in a group out in the bush, and sing till sundown. During these sessions they may sing songs learnt illicitly from their elders, or referring to secret subjects which must be kept from adults. It is out in the bush that the boys arrange those "sing-songs" where young girls, their ages varying from eleven to fourteen years, attend and often join in the singing of erotic songs. During such '*inma*' a certain amount of sex play is indulged in, accompanied by all intimacies except the sexual act.¹¹ It is, as one boy informant put it, the "power of the words of the song that arouse those present to such erotic play."

⁹ Vide R. M. Berndt, "Some Aboriginal Children's Games," *Mankind*, Vol. 2, No. 9, pp. 289-293.

¹⁰ Observed both in 1939 and 1941.

¹¹ There are, it is believed, exceptions to this rule and the young girls have their hymens pierced. Again, some of the older boys and girls have coitus. For a further discussion of this subject and the implications of such illicit encounters, see our Report under the heading of "Childhood," see *Oceania*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 251-252 (*Oceania Reprint, op. cit.*, pp. 85-86).

Some of the songs are similar to certain of those recorded from adults. The meanings given however are different ; and it seems probable that the boys occasionally gave inaccurate translations when their knowledge was incomplete or mistaken.

Detailed descriptions of the 'inma have been omitted, and the ceremonies only mentioned in so far as they are relevant to the discussion of the boys' songs. It should be stressed however, that any songs, whether sung by adult or child, may not be considered alone but only in their cultural context. And by cultural context is meant the function of the song in Ooldea society and its traditional background ; its social repercussions, its outward expression in ceremony and dance, the rhythmic variations, the inferences of its words, and, what is most important, its meaning to the individual concerned and to the society as a whole.

Later, when all the secular songs collected by the authors at Ooldea are published, it is intended to discuss the above matters in more detail and to analyse the construction of the songs. Until then the following is presented as a selection of children's songs recorded in phonetic text from boys speaking the 'Antinari, 'Mandjindji and 'Ijalia dialects of the 'Pidjan'djara tongue.

SONGS

Camp Life.

- (1) 'runa:(a) 'wɔniŋu:(b) 'manji:'ri:di: 'jawa'ruŋnu:(c)
hit him throw it "poison" scab/gone away.

Notes.—(a) A variation of 'runa:ni, or 'buna:ri.

(b) Usually 'wɔniŋ.

(c) Usually 'bida:la. 'jawa'ruŋnu is possibly "scab/hit" signifying the fact that the scab must be peeled off.

Explanation. A man throws a spear at another man during a quarrel ; the wound festers (becomes "poisoned"), then forms a scab and, healing, disappears.

- (2) 'ŋu:ra: 'ja:li: 'daja:ru: 'ŋu:ra:
(to the) camp call fire camp.

Explanation. Calling people to come to the camp where there is the warmth of a fire.

- (3) 'ma:raŋati: 'ma:raŋa: 'ma:ra: 'ma:ra:'ma:ra: 'bula:ri:
putting out hands(a) putting out hands hand both hands two.

Note.—(a) Translated as "ask him," i.e. by holding out one's hands.

Explanation. A person is begging for food by holding out his two hands.

- (4) 'wala:wala: 'ŋa:ŋa: 'bulwau 'ŋulu:na: 'balwau 'ŋa:ŋa:ŋa:
a long stick we see making a noise and frighten making a noise we see.

Explanation. We see him making a noise and frightening us—he has a long stick. The singer (a child) is being frightened by a camp-fellow who intends to beat him.

- (5) 'ŋaiu:lu: 'dji:lora: 'ju:ra:'ju:ra:na: 'ŋaiu:lu: 'balgi:baldjina:
I a lot of spears get them I walking a long way.

Explanation. The song refers to the fact that a man had to walk a long way by himself, to obtain good wood from which to make a lot of spears.

- (6) 'jaranu: 'gandunu: 'yu:wamba: 'bana: 'bi:di:
hold him by the wrist kick him can't hit properly sand to fall down(a)
'darun'darun
his heart.

Note.—(a) After being hit.

Explanation. This song tells of a camp fight. A man is held by the wrist, he is kicked ; he cannot hit back properly. He falls to the sand. His heart aches.

- (7) 'ka:li: 'kada: 'gudja:'raranu: 'wara: 'yaiu:lu: 'naitju:
boomerang on head two people tall (man) I stranger.

Explanation. Two people fight with boomerangs, one is a stranger the other a tall man (apparently from the "home camp"). They hit each other on the head.

- (8) 'gu:ru: 'gamba:'gambara: 'ya:ri:ya: 'gu:ru: 'jenjeninara:
eyes very hot(a) lie down eyes moving away from the fire.

Note.—(a) Referring to the camp fire.

Explanation. I lie down by the camp fire. It is very hot and the heat hurts my eyes ; I move away from it.

- (9) 'wi:luya: 'delgi: 'ri:ri: 'bu:yu: 'boiju:
stomachs hit together wave sticks in air hit (with it) a little smoke
'madu:'madu: 'bedje'rari: 'woganu:
much smoke (a) spear them.

Note.—(a) Dancing along while throwing up sand with one's feet.

Explanation. This song refers to people in a camp who see smoke in the distance ; first a little, then much smoke. It is an approaching party of warriors—the camp-people "feel" this in their stomachs. They hit sticks together, wave them in the air dancing up and down churning up the sand, and get ready to spear the approaching people.

- (10) 'yadjina: 'bugara: 'yadjina: 'bugara: 'gumbu: 'gunala: b'renb'ri: 'yadjina:
a covering(a) big one a covering big one urine excreta slow one a covering
'bugara:
big one.

Note.—(a) During sleep ; in pre-European days this would have been bark, boughs, dogs and sometimes skins (the latter however rarely).

Explanation. The song refers to a person covered for the night, then to that person urinating for a long time and excreting slowly.

- (11) 'guna: 'djumba:'djumba: 'guna: 'ladulga: 'ladu: 'gadi:ya:
excreta walking slowly excreta "soft one" boy(a) bring them(b).

Notes.—(a) A young child, so called by its father ; if a girl, 'a:guri:.

(b) Also "show them."

Explanation. A small child excretes as it walks. 'gadi:ya: means that it must be shown not to do this. 'ladulga: refers to 'guna:.

- (12) 'ju:ru: 'runu: gun'guda:'guda: 'jilga:ri: 'da:ri:'mendi: 'gana:
wind-break ashes swallow/two brothers (a) making warm(b) go without
'ju:ru: 'runu:
wind-break ashes.

Notes.—(a) A shaft of sunlight appears through an aperture in the clouds on a cold day.

(b) To hit one fire-stick ('waru:) with another in order to put them out by breaking off the smouldering ends.

Explanation. Two brothers sit in a wind-break where there are glowing ashes ; they swallow food, it is cold. The sun appears through the clouds and makes them warm ; they put out their fire-sticks.

- (13) 'djara: 'maŋu:la: 'li:wi: 'rəriŋ'djari: 'kukara: 'ralu: 'djara 'maŋu:la: 'li:wi:
shield get them (a) (b) east (c) shield get them (a)
'kukara: 'ruŋu: 'djara: 'maŋu:la: 'li:wi: 'rəriŋ'djari:
east hit him shield get them (a) (b).

Notes.—(a) To shake the shield when fighting.

(b) Talking when parrying a blow from an adversary.

(c) The fighter misses a hit with his club ; the word 'ralu refers to the club "cutting" the air.

Explanation. This song tells of a fight with clubs and shields ; one fighter talks to (i.e. abuses) his adversary as he parries the blows from the club with his shield. At last one is hit.

Family Life (the mention of relatives in songs) :

- (14) 'bulguya: 'buləri:(a) 'djimpa: 'djimpa(b) 'ya:ru:pa: 'a:ru(c)
cinder grandmother little boy brother and sister close up.

Notes.—(a) Usually 'ga:bali.

(b) Also 'tjunta'tjunta, beginning to walk a little.

(c) Sometimes 'i:la or 'ila.

Explanation. The significance of the word 'bulguya was not given, but the rest of the song shows the bond between the grandchildren and the grandparents, sociologically expressed in the generation levels.

- (15) 'ma:laŋ 'ŋaijuna: 'tjilban 'jinuŋ(a)
younger brothers me going slowly sit down.

Note.—(a) 'njina:ni is usually used ; 'jinuŋ is a variation used in song versions.

Explanation. I am walking with my brothers. I am going along slowly ; then I sit down.

- (16) 'guda: 'balumba: 'walga:'rarema 'ŋi:di: 'nulga:
elder brother "it is yours"(a) mark(b) put on his back "fat"(c) "skinny"(d).

Notes.—(a) Lit., "his."

(b) Also meaning "cicatrise."

(c) A wide cicatrize.

(d) A thin cicatrize.

Explanation. The eldest brother helps at putting cicatrizes on his younger brother's back.

This is the final initiatory rite and is carried out in public.

- (17) 'galbu: 'galbu: ralu: (a) 'bada: 'juga: 'ruda: ru: 'manaru: 'ɲɛrimba: (b) 'ɲɛrimba:
 brother-in-law close straight pick it up yours yours.

Notes.—(a) Usual word 'maradu.

(b) Usually 'nuramba or 'ɲuramba.

Explanation. Your brother-in-law comes straight towards you ; he picks it up. (This refers to the giving of food to one's brother-in-law.)

- (18) 'guda: 'buduna: 'bulga: 'bulgina: 'da: li: 'bana: 'ba: li: 'gudu:
 brother can't find him a big person sand-ridges sand smooth he swears.

Explanation. He cannot find his brother, who is a big person ; he has searched the smooth sand-ridges. Angrily he swears.

- (19) 'bundi: 'nalba: 'ra: wu: 'ra: wu: 'bundi: 'nalba: 'ra: wu: 'ra: wu: 'wɔniŋ' dalba:
 a tree/daughter (a) a tree/daughter (a) throw away.

Note.—(a) A noise made by swishing a twig or stick through the air.

Explanation. A daughter swishes a stick which she has broken from a tree. She then throws it away.

The 'Inma (ceremony and song).

- (20) 'da: bara: 'di: djelu: 'ka: du: 'ma: ku: 'lura: 'lura: 'na: gula:
 hit sticks together/baby head body young boys' camp look !

Explanation. The meaning of this song seems to be that a child is sitting in a young-boys' camp beating two sticks together as does a singer in an 'inma, keeping time to the rhythm of the song. The exclamation, Look ! is one of interest and pleasure at seeing the child thus employed.

- (21) 'galba: 'zali: 'zara: (a) 'muŋa: 'windu' rundu:
 huts head-dress (b) dark some distance away.

Notes.—(a) Also 'dza: li, 'dza: li, 'dja: li, 'da: li or 'ta: li.

- (b) Usually termed 'inma' da: li (or 'inma' dali), a ceremonial head-dress of wreath shape. Through this 'da: li the dancer's head is put, while he grips with his teeth a stick that is placed across the lower part of the inner diameter of the wreath ; in this manner he steadies the 'da: li, the upper part of which rests on the top of his forehead. From the main wreath a number of whittled sticks called 'pindi' pindi, the shavings left at equal intervals, are stuck. This is the most simple form of the 'da: li, while most elaborate constructions may be made. However the original wreath is always retained as a basis upon which to work.

Explanation. This song refers to a head-dress worn at a ceremony. The ceremony is held away from the huts (camp) at a cleared space when it is dark. It is only a " play-about " ceremony, 'inma in' ganja: ku ('inma in' gandji).

- (22) 'ka: ru: 'malma: 'pana: 'ði: ta: ŋ 'guru: 'guru: (a) .
 deep incline of a creek/silly sand hitting sticks together an owl.

Note.—(a) Also 'gurgu.

Explanation. This refers to a song about the owl, the rhythm of the song being kept by the beating together of sticks. The relevance of the other words is not apparent, although the song may have a mythological background unknown to the children.

- (23) 'ɲindjb'rəri: 'ɲindjb'rəri: 'wɔŋa 'ka:duŋa: 'maila:li:'buŋa: 'ɲindjb'rəri:
a small spear a small spear creek the top sticks/hit a small spear
'ɲindjb'rəri:
a small spear.

Explanation. At the head of a creek an 'inma is held, and to mark the rhythm a spear and a stick are beaten together.

- (24) 'narumbi: 'narumbi: 'danbi: 'bala:'layu: 'gandunu: 'mu:ri:'djunu:
(a) grass nearly dead(b) (c) a twig stuck in the sand.

Notes.—(a) Dancing in a jumping manner with one's hands on the hips, legs apart and knees bent.

(b) I.e. "out of breath."

(c) Beating on the sand with the sole of one's foot.

Explanation. They dance near the 'danbi till they are out of breath; a twig is stuck in the sand, around which they dance. Onlookers beat time with their feet on the sand.

- (25) 'i:lili: 'gulban'gadu: 'walga: 'mindī: 'gulban'gadu:
a head-dress(a) go back/we markings sores healed go back/we.

Note.—(a) I.e. 'inma'ta:li.

Explanation. The song refers to an 'inma held by young boys; they had previously made cicatrizes on their fore-arms and chests.

- (26) 'walga: 'mindī: 'gu:ban:gadu: 'i:lili: 'gu:ban:gadu: 'walga: 'mindī:
markings fire-stick(a) we go back (b) we go back markings fire-stick.

Notes.—(a) A different meaning has been given to the word 'mindī. See song 25.

(b) Translated as whittled sticks with bunched shavings at equal intervals.
Also called 'pindi'pindi. See song 25.

Explanation. This song refers to an 'inma. The whittled sticks are waved in the dancers' hands.

- (27) 'jela:wəri: 'dala:riŋ 'gara: 'baubun'mu:nu: 'jela:wəri:
catching hold of him to dance shining (a) catching hold of him.

Note.—(a) Dancing, stamping feet alternately with knees bent and legs a little apart.

Explanation. This song may refer either to an ordinary camp dance at which a pearl-shell necklet is worn (referred to by the word 'gara:); or to the time when a novice is given his pearl-shell (which may be demonstrated by the word 'jela:wəri:). The informant was not sure to which of these occasions the song referred.

In Play.

- (28) 'gunamba: 'buŋa:'luru: 'gunamba: 'ɲambami 'ja:
buttocks hit him/with whittled stick buttocks hide which way?
'guna:'buŋa:'luru:
buttocks/hit/with stick.

Explanation. A boy hits another on the buttocks with a stick—he asks, "Which way will I hide?"

- (29) *a** 'ta:li 'bana: 'bala: 'daru: 'warəŋu:
sand-ridge sand noise down stand up.

Explanation. This song refers to children sliding down the slope of a sand-ridge as a "slippery dip"; as they slide they laugh and cry out (i.e. noise), then reaching the bottom of the slope they stand up.

- (29b) 'da:li: 'pana: 'ba:la: 'ŋeru: 'da:ru: 'ŋara: 'ŋu: 'guda:
sand-ridge/sand smooth from come down stand up (a) brother
'budu:budu:na: 'bulga:'bulga:na:
can't find him very large.

Note.—(a) A peculiar sound made at the back of the throat.

Explanation. The sand-hill slope is smooth; the children slide down, then stand up. My brother I cannot find. The sand-ridge is very large.

- (29c) 'da:li: 'bana: 'ba:la: 'gudu: 'dara:'raŋu:
sand-ridge sand smooth further away going down.

Explanation. The sand-ridge down which the children slide is smooth; it is steep (i.e. "further away").

- (30) 'wara: 'ŋaiu:lu: 'nadju: 'wara: 'melga:'bulga: 'ŋaleŋa:ni:
to make a noise I No! to make a noise many people (a).

Note.—(a) Means to shake one's head from side to side with tongue out while laughing.

Explanation. A "noise" is made by me. No! (i.e. don't make that noise!) Many people laugh.

- (31) 'tjigei'a 'balanda: 'dara:'gaŋani:
sharpened sticks foolish youth stick/small mouse.

Explanation. A foolish youth spears a small mouse with a sharpened stick—this in a game.

- (32) 'beibei 'nala: 'wadi: 'bala: 'nariŋ'nara: 'beiba: 'nala:
(a) (b) man a long way/deep down go away (b).

Notes.—(a) Rocking a baby to sleep in one's arms.

(b) 'nala: is a long throwing-stick with a knob at one end. The stick is thrown at a bush and continues its flight just skimming the surface of the ground.

Explanation. A man who has been rocking a baby in his arms takes a turn at throwing the 'nalai:; he throws a long way and it sticks into the sand deeply. He then goes away.

- (33) 'gumbaigu: 'mu:gu:'riŋa: 'ma: 'bulga: 'gu:li: 'djara: 'guna: 'baltji:ŋu:
green-tree(a) like it(b) (c) big man(d) heard (e) buttocks swim(f).

Notes.—(a) 'wadalka, acacia bush.

(b) To enjoy.

(c) To call out in joy, i.e. 'ma:!' 'ma:!

* In reference to songs 29 a, b and c, compare with song 18. It will be noticed that there are slight discrepancies in translation (e.g. 'bala and 'ba:la are given as meaning "noise" and "smooth", while 'gudu is given (song 18) as "he swears" and (song 29c) as "further away" or "steep").

It is to be expected, of course, that children should be less careful than adults in rendering the exact meaning of a word: and the authors were concerned here less with the exact translation of each word than with the general explanation—that is, with the interpretation and content of the songs as these appeared to the singers.

- (d) Well-proportioned.
 (e) To walk with knees bent as does an old person.
 (f) The Desert people usually swim in the 'pi:na (clay-pan), lakes, creeks or large rock-holes where water is available. There are clay-pans near Ooldea, but they dry up quickly in the heat following the Great Rains which fill them. Children and women especially delight in swimming. At the salt swamps, a quarter to half a mile north-east of the Soak, a group of natives may camp when it is full of water. During such a season a swamp attracts a great deal of bird-life.

Explanation. We swim in a clay-pan near a 'wadalka bush, crying out 'ma: in enjoyment. In fun a big man—who hears our noise—impersonates an old man bending his knees and protruding his buttocks.

- (34) 'wabudi: 'djalgaru: 'ηundi: 'belgun 'ηa:ri:na: 'ηundi: 'djalgaru:
 a tall tree (a) neck to spear through lie down neck (a)
 'djalgaru:

Note.—(a) To shake one's head from side to side in nonsense.

Explanation. There is a tall tree. A young man shakes his head from side to side in play. Another person makes as if to spear him; the young man lies down.

Camp Routine, Hunting and Food-gathering Activities.

- (35) 'wulga:ru: 'tʃampu: 'tʃiyanu: 'kana:ba'kanu: 'mama:lu: 'ηa:juna:
 kill him spear him get up father me.

Explanation. A boy sees an animal and calls out for his father to get up and spear it.

- (36) 'djanara: 'ηalgu:la:ni: 'waybun 'beia: 'ηunbana:
 chop wood(a) eat men far off in the shade.

Note.—(a) Lit. "to gather wood."

Explanation. Some men chop wood for a fire and far from the camp in the shade of a tree eat.

- (37) 'mai:(a) 'luηa:ni: 'tʃi:wa: 'mandalga: 'nenḏa: 'dalḡala:
 "bread" hit the stone grinding stone/getting wild speak up(b).

Notes.—(a) 'mai refers to any vegetable food, seed or flour. The word "bread" may either be damper, a flat thick disc made from the indigenous seeds, European wheat or Government flour; or bread baked in the Mission's oven and given in rations to certain women and children.

- (b) Another boy translated this word as "a flat stone upon which seeds are ground."

Explanation. The song refers to the grinding of seed to obtain flour to make 'mai. The word 'nenḏa: or "getting wild" means that the woman who is making the 'mai becomes angry as her flour is not sufficient for her requirements, i.e. for distribution in her family.

- (38) 'ju:pəru: 'mara:ri: 'i:lu:(a) 'gana: 'ma:ba:kayn:(b)
 pigeon hand hit dead running get up.

Notes.—(a) 'i:luŋa (or 'eluŋa) means dead.

(b) The usual word for “getting up” is 'baga:ra—in this case it either refers to the hunter coming up to the dead pigeon or means that he must quicken his running.

Explanation. This song refers to the killing of a pigeon by the hunter's hand, using either a club or spear.

(39) 'gi:la:'gambalu: 'guga:(a) 'ma:lu: 'kana:
large eaglehawk meat kangaroo alive.

Note.—(a) Also 'koka or 'goga—is a collective reference to all edible flesh.

Explanation. The hunter sees a large eaglehawk, then good “meat” in the form of kangaroo—but his spear misses and the animal escapes alive.

(40) 'guldalu: 'ŋanana: 'wi: 'tjulgu:'tjulgu: 'baura:(b) 'ŋa:lgu:rani:
brothers many boys(a) — a red breasted black bird cook them eat them.

Notes.—(a) Referred to boys all of the same age.

(b) Also 'ba:nu.

Explanation. A number of boys who were brothers obtained 'tjulgu'tjulgu, which they cooked and ate.

(41) 'munda:'munda:ri: 'wadi: 'tji:baŋgu:
sorry/sorry man can't spear properly.

Explanation. This song relates that one is very sorry for the man who cannot spear properly.

(42) 'tju:ru: 'bidi:a: 'ma:ra: 'guraŋu:
(spear) through/big hole hand/ pick it up.

Explanation. The hunter spears a small animal as it is going into (or coming out of) a burrow; he picks it up with his hand.

(43) 'wanbun'bəri: 'wanbun'bəri: 'mai:ja:
a long way a long way for “bread”(a).

Note.—(a) For seeds with which to make flour.

Explanation. It is a long way, a very long way to get seeds.

(44) 'ða:la: 'za:landa: 'mudatu: 'gu:ga:riŋ 'tji:na: 'za:land' za:landa:
wet(a) mouth(b) little nest of ants cook them foot mouth.

Notes.—(a) Also either 'boiju or 'ga:bi.

(b) 'ða is more commonly used.

Explanation. One moistens the mouth by eating ants “roasted” in a fire; some escape and crawl over the foot.

The ants are of the large white variety and are removed from their nest and placed on bark, then passed over the fire several times and eaten.

(To be continued.)

Australia : Social Anthropology.**Harney.****Sport and Play amidst the Aborigines of the Northern Territory.** *By W. E. Harney.*

Camp life among the Aborigines of the Northern Territory is not only a matter of hunting, cooking and performing rites. Many times have I seen them at certain games and the following are a few that can or, at one time, could be observed.

Hide and Seek.

This game is played by children in the same way as whites, but I have often seen the old people as well as the young playing this game.

Spearing the Disc.

A disc of soft wood or bark is made, generally about eighteen inches in diameter, and as it is thrown along the ground the players, generally the old men and youths in groups, throw reed-spears at it from a distance of fifteen feet. When the disc is struck, it is knocked upright to the accompaniment of the shouts of the players, who generally have a good deal of joyful argument as to the owner of the winning spear.

Hunting the Object.

A smooth circle about two feet across is made on a flat sandy patch of ground, and as the players hide their faces or walk away, the "boss" of the game hides a small object—about the size of a match-head—in the circle. He then blows carefully upon the circle to blot out any traces of the object, but a portion of it must be shown above the sand.

He now calls out, and at his call the players sit around the circle to try and detect the hidden article. All have a piece of strong grass in their hand. None must scratch the surface of the circle, but all are allowed two attempts at pointing it out.

Should a person find the hidden object, he becomes the "boss" of the game, but should all fail to find it, they will challenge the "boss" to find it, and he must then go away from the ring, turn around twice and return, to immediately point out the thing that is hidden. If he fails to point it out quickly, he loses the game, and another man, by mutual consent, becomes the "boss."

Hunting and Guessing.

When a person returns from the hunt, he hides his catch in the bush nearby and then asks all in the camp to name what he has taken in the hunt. All guess, and the one who guesses correctly is pointed to by the huntsman, and as he points all the others of the camp point to him or her also as the winner. He or she now gets a choice piece of the kill as a prize.

Mungan-mungan of Wargite Tribe.

This game was once played by the old and young men of the tribe. An old man would stealthily go out into the bush and cut a limb about two feet long from the hibiscus, a light wood growing on the beach. After it was peeled and well dried this very light wood was painted white, and it now became the "Wormar" or "young-girl."

As a part of the game, the old men of the tribe send out a message stick to their friends in camps nearby, and all come together and paint up for the occasion. At a given signal, the old men arise, with the maker of the stick in the centre, and challenge the youths of the tribe to "Come and get the young girl."

This challenge is immediately accepted by the youths, who try to take the "Wormar" from the challengers. The old men hold the "Wormar" behind their backs as they play, but the youths hold it under their armpit when they get it, a means of identification as to the different sides.

When the holder of the "Wormar" is tackled, he throws it to one of his side, and should it be caught by the opposite side, a great shout goes up from the onlookers in the camp.

The game goes on till one side becomes exhausted, and the winning side, i.e. the one who last held the "Wormar," then takes and hides it in the bush, until the opposite side gets together a stronger team to win the thing back again.

This game was always played with much laughter, but sometimes a brawl would begin when some old fellow—realizing that he was not as good a man as he once was—will claim he has been hit or insulted, and the row begins.

Boomerang Game of the Djinghali Tribe.

This game is similar to the Wargite one, i.e. it is one of old versus young. A boomerang is thrown rolling along the ground, and all race to catch up with it and give it a further throw. This game is really one of speed, but often a native would throw the boomerang in a different direction, or run back a little through the mass of runners, and throw it back the way it came, and instantly the mass would be doubling back on their tracks after the quarry.

The old men, owing to their superior knowledge of the game, generally win, for the good players work as a team, and by throwing back and towards each other, they soon outplay and exhaust the younger but inexperienced players. The idea with the old people was to have one man—generally a good runner—at the starting place. He would be fresh after the others had run themselves out, and once he took the boomerang he would keep going till the others gave in and he, and his side, were proclaimed the winners.

Ball Game of the Djinghali Tribe.

A ball, similar to the one used in cricket but made of grass tied up tightly with string and then covered with beeswax, is, or was, used for this game, where men of different moieties took sides as in football, and the game was started by kicking the ball into the air.

Once kicked off, however, the hands could not touch the ball again, only the feet were used for this purpose, and the side who kept it in the air and away from the others were looked upon as the winners.

A Memory Training Game of the Walbri Tribe.

A memory training game is played by the children of the desert area inhabited by the Walbri and surrounding tribes.

The game consists of making a large circle on the ground and around this is placed pieces of sticks, stones and odd bits of things to represent objects in that area. Should the people live near a highway, as at Phillips Creek settlement, the sticks would be bridges, the stones, houses, bits of earth would be motor-trucks, and so on. As many as fifty objects will be placed around the circle at one time.

The "head" of the game places these articles along the circle-line and when all is ready, he calls out to the others, who must look away as he, or she, arranges them. Now all examine the objects carefully to fix them in their mind, and when satisfied, all turn their backs to the game.

The first player calls an object at a given point and continues to call each article on the line until he, or she, calls wrongly, then another player takes up the call. When all fail, they go away once more while the "head" rearranges the pieces for the next game.

So expert do these children become that, after a short look, they can correctly call each object along the line, and the winner becomes the "owner" of the game.

Such are the games as once played by the different tribes during the cool of the day or whilst sitting under a shady tree away from the fierce rays of the sun.

Other amusements, such as making string-figures and burning old spears and tossing them into the air as sky-rockets for the amusement of the children, were common. One particular form of the fire-game was to cut a piece of bark from a gum-tree and notch it at one end to form a disc. This was placed in the fire and when blazing was thrown into the air by striking it sharply against a stout piece of wood held in the other hand. The sudden jolt sent the fiery disc-wheel into the darkness of the night. "Like sun," the people would exclaim as it went on its way. Apparently this was some form of magic, because it was often done on cold nights, under the belief that it made the sun rise quickly.

W. E. HARNEY.

REVIEW :

Good Company : A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages. By Monica Wilson. *International African Institute, Oxford University Press.* 1951. xii, 278 pp., 16 plates.

Good Company is the first volume reporting the results of field work carried out between 1934 and 1938 by Godfrey and Monica Wilson, amongst the Nyakyusa, a Bantu-speaking people living north-west of Lake Nyasa, across the Tanganyika-Nyasaland border. The book is written by Monica Wilson from the material collected by herself and her husband, who died in 1944.

The distinctive characteristic of Nyakyusa society is that village organization is based on the principle of age, not kinship. Boys leave home at about the age of ten to establish a village of their own. As the contemporaries who live together in the village reach marriage age—about 25—they are joined by their wives and set up families in the age-village. Some villages contain only unmarried youths; some are in a transitional stage; others consist of married men and their families. The Nyakyusa recognize one hundred chiefdoms; chieftainship is hereditary, but the chiefs are assisted by headmen who are commoners and whose position is not hereditary. About every thirty years authority is transferred from one generation to another in an elaborate ceremony, called the "coming out"; at this time the chiefdom is divided between the two senior sons of an ageing chief, all the recently established age-villages are formally recognized and headmen are selected to lead them.

In attempting to answer the question "why age-villages?" the author first analyses the economic functions of the villages, showing that, despite a measure of economic co-operation and common interests in land, it is not the village but the kin group that is the primary economic unit. The values realized in the age-villages are: "good company," that is, enjoyment and the learning of wisdom through fellowship with one's contemporaries; "dignity," that is, a prosperous and well-run homestead, occupied by a generous and courteous host; "display in approved forms," that is, personal adornment, dancing and fighting to attain the admiration of one's contemporaries; "decency," that is, the preservation of

sexual morality by the separation of the sexual activities of successive generations ; and finally, the all-embracing value of "wisdom."

The study of Nyakyusa age-villages continues with an analysis of the sanctions by which these values are maintained. Deviants are accused of witchcraft, for which the punishment is sickness induced by "the breath of men," the shocked disapproval of fellow villagers. Order within the village is preserved also by the recognized mechanism of arbitration and by the practice of segregating deviants from the village community.

In a final chapter, Monica Wilson outlines the social characteristics found amongst the Nyakyusa, but absent in societies whose villages are based on kinship. These characteristics are : an extreme elaboration of certain incest avoidances, the observance of which is promoted by the separation of kin in age-villages ; the value placed on good fellowship between contemporaries, the attainment of which depends on community organization of contemporaries rather than of kin ; the belief in the lust for food as the incentive for neighbours practising witchcraft, this belief arising out of the envy incurred amongst people of different degrees of prosperity living in close proximity and the one having no future claim, through inheritance, on the wealth of the other ; the village headman's role as protector against witchcraft, and the absence of village rituals directed towards the ancestors. The necessary conditions of the Nyakyusa age-villages are : the redistribution of land in each generation, which in turn depends upon an abundant supply and relatively little development of land ; and the small-scale and comparatively isolated nature of the society.

One-third of *Good Company* is devoted to a presentation of "Select Documents" of cases recorded in the field workers' note-books, together with a table showing the salient features of a number of age-villages, and a second table giving details of 92 cases of "Misfortunes Attributed to Mystical Causes."

Good Company is a valuable contribution to African ethnology and to the theory of social structure. In summary, one can note with appreciation the clarity with which the sociological thesis is presented, the deft employment of a well-defined method of analysis, and the careful documentation of the material. While the admirable sociological analysis throws much light on the correlates of the age-village structure, one can perhaps suggest that a more explicit use of the insights of psychology might have made the somewhat uncertain treatment of witchcraft in the last chapter more illuminating.

JEAN I. CRAIG.

OBITUARY :

MR. A. L. MESTON, M.A.

On December 21st, 1951, A. L. Meston died in his sixty-second year at his home in Hobart after a long illness.

He was a remarkable person who had a deep love of all things Tasmanian. His wide scholarship enabled him to deal with a range of problems beyond the comprehension of most people, but he was at his best when studying the history of Tasmania, which included that of its aboriginal inhabitants.

Mr. Meston spent many of his happiest days in the field. He walked over much of Tasmania and had a full appreciation of its rugged beauty. Those were pleasant times for his companions. His love of discussion and argument seemed to shine out and his vitality added much to the pleasure of the talk. At those times, too, his dogmatism seemed more

extreme but one soon realized that it was a trick to force discussion. He often defended an unpopular position just for the good of the discussion.

One of our great regrets must always be that he had so little time for the historical and anthropological work which he could do so well. He was always a busy man, and in his last years particularly so. With the added handicap of ill health, much of his work remained unfinished at his death. His published anthropological work includes :

- 1931. Rock Carvings in Tasmania. *Vict. Nat.*, 48, 6 : 103-104, pls. II and III.
- 1932. Aboriginal Rock-carvings on the North-west Coast of Tasmania. *Pap. roy. Soc. Tasm.*, for 1931 : 12-19, pls. II-VIII.
- 1933. Aboriginal Rock-carvings in Tasmania. Part II. *Pap. roy. Soc. Tasm.*, for 1932 : 1-6, pls. I-IV.
- 1934. Aboriginal Rock-carvings in Tasmania. *Antiquity*, 8, 30 : 179-184, pls. I-IV.
- 1936. Observations on Visits of the Tasmanian Aborigines to the Hunter Islands. *Pap. roy. Soc. Tasm.*, for 1935 : 155-162, pl. V.
- 1937. The Problem of the Tasmanian Aborigine. *Pap. roy. Soc. Tasm.*, for 1936 : 85-92.
- 1937. Tasmanian Stone Implements. *MANKIND*, 2, 4 : 80-82.
- 1947. Half-castes of the Furneaux Group. *Rec. Q.V. Mus.*, 2, 1 : 47-52.
- 1949. The Tasmanians—a Summary. *Rec. Q.V. Mus.*, 2, 3 : 145-150.

Meston's extensive collection of stone implements and other Tasmanian aboriginal material has been acquired by the National Museum of Victoria.

N. J. B. PLOMLEY.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

Notes on New Britain Religion.

Sir,

I deeply appreciate the remark made by Mr. F. L. S. Bell in *MANKIND* (Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 31) stressing the value of an intrinsic knowledge of native languages for anthropological research work : "The basis of any worth-while investigation into the social anthropology of a non-literate primitive people should be linguistic, and until investigators realize this all work in the field of social ethnography will be, at the best, superficial and incomplete."

May I advance an example confirming the truth of that statement. Here on New Britain the deepest root of the religious convictions of the *Gunantuna* (or *Kuánua*) tribe lay in the belief in the so-called "*Iyal*." The pioneer missionaries of bygone days found that by this term the natives under-

stood a unique creative power (very similar to the Polynesian "*Mana*"), pervading all matter and culminating in certain persons and things. But it was hard to find the verbal meaning of the term "*Iyal*," although several explanations have been tried. I considered that the only way to reach a result was to compare the different dialects of the Gunantuna language and, finally, to consult the terminology of other tribes also.

Among the Gunantuna we discern two main dialects (Rabaul and Kokopo area) and several border dialects (Baining coast, Vuátam Island, Nondup-Kóre and Duke of York Islands). On Vuátam the term "*Iyani*," corresponds with "*Iyal*" on the mainland, and *vítiri iyaiyani* has here the same meaning as *táta iyaiyal* on the opposite coast, namely to speak low or to sing in falsetto. That happened especially during the colourful sacred *kúlaw* dances, which

for that reason are simply called "*a Iyal*." On Duke of York certain night performances of the womenfolk, squatting in a circular position on the ground and singing with high-pitched voices, are called *iyaiya*. Furthermore, the words for "to whistle" reveal the same meaning: *v-iyal* (Malu), *v-igul* (Gunantuna) and even *a iyl*, the Baining term for Pan flute. Obviously the common basis of all these terms is *a iyan*, resp. *a iya*, which means a low and secret voice.

According to the assertions of the natives this superhuman *Iyal*-voice created everything in the past and to-day invests all who are initiated with magical power and secret inspirations. It still may be heard sometimes at night as a faint musical sound coming from far away. Old Taramtur of Rakunai told me several times: *A Iyal i ga vaki ra vurur magit, i ga valain avet ma i ga vaminana avet*, "This voice has created all things, has given us life and reason." On Vuátam the same creative power is named *a Pir* which also means "Word, Speech, Tradition."

The idea of a creation by the mere word is, by the way, not restricted to the Gunantuna tribe but can be found among the Sulka and Arave and on Bougainville too. The Sulka believe in a Supreme Being *E Nut* and say of Him: *E Nut ta kul reay o togholduk tugus*, "He has created by saying all things." On Pítilo (Arave) the natives assert that *A Nutu* brought forth everything by his mere look or his will, and they use for this activity the compound verb *mete-tol*. In *Anthropos*, 1911, p. 840, Father Rausch has already published a note on the traditions of the natives of south Bougainville. Their Supreme Being, called *Bakokora* (resp. *Kumponi*), is said to have created everything by his word, *ókara síomuri*=He has said all things.

In short, it is by way of an intimate knowledge of the native idiom only that we

can reach a full understanding of their myths and legends. And without such a knowledge we may only adulterate their sacred beliefs.

FR. CH. LAUFER,
M.S.C., F.R.A.I.

New Britain.

Queensland Aboriginal Lore.

Sir,

In response to a request, made some four years ago, for information about the life and beliefs of certain native tribes of northern Queensland, Mrs. A. M. Duncan Kemp, of "Wantata," Jondaryan, has supplied me with the following notes based on her own close acquaintance with those tribes. I send them to you, completely unedited, in the belief that their publication in their original form will be of interest and value to readers of our journal.

DR. L. P. WINTERBOTHAM.
Ethnological Museum,
University of Queensland.

"Dear Dr. Winterbotham,

"(1) Your first question—How widespread was the use of the churinga? I take it that you mean also the small totem boards (Ti-pa-do) and the big shield showing vast hieroglyphics in black, red, white and yellow. This is said to be the record book of the tribal stories, ceremonies, etc., made by the first ancestor—that is the first man and woman made by Yammacoona the woman wizard. Also you may mean the carved God sticks (symbols of various powerful but unseen spirits) and the Kooramundo or rain stick which is usually carved and is cut from the Beefwood tree (usually).

"How widespread was the churinga? Among the Diamantina, Georgina and Mulligan River tribes and Western River (Winton) an area which takes in the country from Mar-ree (Hergott Springs), S.A., to Cloncurry, north Queensland. All these

used the Churinga as a spirit symbol in some form or other. The Goa and Mittakoodi tribes whose hunting grounds lay between Winton and Dajarra (Duchess) towards Cloncurry and these people linked up with the great and fierce Kalkadoon tribe between Winton, Cork, Elderslie and Springvale Stations. Beyond Springvale working down the Georgina, Diamantina towards Boulia and beyond the Kalkadoons linked with the Pitta pitta tribe at Boulia and these had as neighbours the Rinka Tinka (Brown possum) at Cooraboulka station and the Ooloo-poolooloo (Grey possum) tribe at Bedourie whose neighbours were the Karanya (Widgeon) at Cluny station. In turn these tribes had as neighbours the Murranudda at Monkira (Plains Turkey tribe) station lying 45 miles N.W. of our home Mooraberrie. These tribes linked with the Emu-Kangaroo, Wakerdi (Crow), Mille-mur-ro (Pelican), Kibulyo (Whistler Duck) and the Dragonfly tribe, near Roseberth in the Birdsville district. Also at Ka-kuri (also spelt Carcory) near Annandale (called Cutiteera, the 'place of pigs') were the Eaglehawk and Little Eagle tribes—a very intelligent reserved people. The Eaglehawk and Little Eagle linked with the Wonkamurra (Black Duck) at Glengyle and then through various smaller but quite distinct tribes, to the Aroona (Arunta, I believe the scientists call them). Aroona, I have been told by the gins, means the trumpeting call of the black swan. All these tribes used the Churinga. Some were God sticks, some food charms, some for initiation use. Others symbolized the Spirit of Fertility, the Drought Spirit. Others symbolized Love, Birth and childhood and water or rain.

"Most Churingas had to be prepared for ceremonies by singing, that is, it was held over a fire by a Medicine Man or elder of the camp and he chanted appropriate charms which was said to bring the life essence of the spirit or thing it was supposed to represent.

This 'singing' was always done in secret far from the eyes of gins, children or partially initiated youth. When the 'singing' was over—this often took a fortnight or more—some churingas, especially those representing food plants or water (rain) required elaborate 'singing,' the churinga was ready for ceremonial use. You ask where the idea of the churinga gained recognition? or where it was first introduced? It was certainly recognized by the tribes which I have mentioned and as far as I know it was considered to be spirit-given. I cannot say when or where it was first introduced. The Diamantina Georgina tribes say that the Woman Wizard, Yammacoona, gave the tribes some of the churingas and some were given to the men by Malkuri the Great God when the tribes left the Sky country. According to legend all aboriginal tribes once dwelt in the Sky country and came to earth long before earth had a sun or moon and all was dark and very cold. (The churinga belief might have been very strong in the Central Australian tribes but the Eaglehawks, Little Eagle and the Kalkadoons (Winton) used its symbolism with great fervour especially in fire ritual. I have a pair of Womma gur-ru meaning 'heart or inside' of the snake. These are yellowish cylindrical stones sometimes called snake stones and are used in the Murranudda (Turkey) tribe and the Emu-Kangaroo tribes in fire ritual and are hidden away or buried in a secret spot when not in use. Mine were found as a pair beneath an old abo camp fire—must have been the meeting place of tribes in days gone by—on the Mooraberrie Monkira boundary). When not in use these churinga are hidden away in a cave or shelter taboo to all but the Old Men (tribal elders). One Old Man of the Camp Council (an Elder) is the Keeper of all tribal relics and is solely responsible for their safety. If any were lost or stolen he is killed.

"The children's first churinga or yekirri is usually cut from the bush willow tree (also known out west as Clemency bush). This small tree is symbolic of childhood. The grandfather or grandfather's uncle (of the child) usually cuts a yekirri when the child is about five years old. The yekirri is said to symbolize the child's name before initiation. The yekirri is thicker than a lead pencil and about nine inches or a foot in length; sometimes it has a hole bored through at the top end about two inches from the top so that the stick may be used to swing on a string when the children are taken out into the sandhills at night by a camp gin. This is an important part of abo children's training. The ears of the young are much more acute than older folk and can hear many sounds which are lost to folk over twenty-five. They also learn to know and read the changed character of the country by night. Also youngsters learn to imitate the calls of the night creatures: to distinguish between hunting, fighting and mating calls; night haunting creatures by shape, sound and smell. The singing sound of a swung Yekirri is said to warn off evil spirits. At night while the children slept the gin gathered the yekirris and gave them to the head man (Elder) who buried them near the Old Men's fire and given out again next morning by the gin or a male relative. It is a terrible sin to lose a Yekirri or allow another child to handle it.

"This yekirri is associated with the child's kudgera or mate. When twirled by the child it calls his or her kudgera who, though invisible, comes near and is a spirit power that protects and warns the child. The Emu-Kangaroo people say that a child is given his mate, this kudgera or personal totem in the Dream Circle; this is before he or she leaves the playground (Nynguna) or kindergarten or that the child's mother sees it in a dream. While the Eaglehawks

and Little Eagle tribe says that the mother dreams it and that it comes via the Dream Circle to the child and stays with it. But as the boy (but not the girl) reaches adolescence he must go into the bush alone with little food and make contact personally with his kudgera in a dream. This is said to give a boy double strength in psychic and physical powers. Strange Medicine Men bent on mischief will often follow the boy in the guise of hawks. These men disguised as hawks shadow the lad hoping to get the skin, fur or blood of his kudgera and so be able to work ill on the lad or his relatives at will. Usually the boy is followed by an aged male relative and he takes care to drive the hawks away or if he is a Medicine Man he will make suitable counter magic to offset the evil men. I have several times seen the men drive off the hawks from spots where these lads were. But the gin howled with terror when we girls tried to hunt the hawks. That was strictly forbidden, we'd be given sore eyes or a bad pain in our tummies if we interfered with the rights of the Medicine Men—so would the gin. Hence her howls.

"The Dream Circle was given by the Bird Goddess and the Woman Wizard (Yamma-coona) to the youth of the black people so that they would remember and always love their Sky folk. Into the Dream Circle come the birds and all creatures of the Sandhill country. From this source springs the personal totem which is the mate or kudgera of the aborigine. When a man or woman dies Pan-je the black-eared cuckoo takes his or her soul south by the totem hole to the Judgment Council presided over by the Oolapikka People, said to dwell in caves at the back of the south wind. The Aurora Australis is the feast fires of the Oolapikka folk. The kudgera is said to be present at the Judgment Council and speaks for the Soul. After the Soul passes on to Heaven by way of the Milky Way ladder the kudgera returns to the grave and keeps watch over

the body until it disappears. When the man or woman is reborn his or her kudgera is there to greet him at the appropriate moment in the Dream Circle or by personal contact in a dream. The man or woman being twice born is easily recognized by, and quickly recognizes his kudgera. I find this part of the aborigines' life (inner life) very interesting and fascinating but one has to possess the right key to unlock the door. One can't pick the lock or use force.

"The Kudgera symbols (Churingas) are taken care of by the grandfather's uncle (who in tribal cross cousin marriages may be a young man) or the head man (Elder) of the tribe. Yes, I have seen the stone churingas also the wooden ones. We were never allowed to go near the shelter or storehouse or at least we were never prevented from going anywhere but if we trod unwisely we were never told or shown anything again. We lost the confidence of the blacks entirely. Moses' saying was a quiet: 'A word to the wise, Miss.' It was a sort of code word implying 'Mind your step.'

"I have seen the Kooramundo's, their rain sticks. Usually cut from the beefwood tree and about four to five feet in height, the thickness of a mosquito peg with a knobby round head about the size of a small cricket ball. There were carvings or hieroglyphics on the stick, said to show the moon, stars, sun and the symbols of various rain-haunting creatures. The best stick I saw was begun by the grandfather and finished by the grandson. It took eight years to complete. The engraved grooves and twists were said to be the history of the Rain-making ancestor and his people from the Dream Time. When not in use it was buried in the sand—covered with leaves and grass. The gins knew its whereabouts but wouldn't go near it and they wouldn't let us walk over the spot where it was hidden. I wonder if I have made these things clear, especially the churinga. These churinga are never people or creatures,

they only represent people or creatures. A person never turns into a churinga, nor does an animal or plant or any creature. But certain churinga may represent people or creatures just as certain churingas may represent Gods or spirits, but they themselves are not spirits or gods.

"The Old Men carried their churinga about in skin wallets or skin wrappings tied with plaited strands of human hair. Sometimes in a bag or wrap made of human hair. All these things were stored in a secret shelter when not in use. Yes, I have seen the stone of wisdom and justice, also the stone representing Old Men's law and authority. We stumbled on these things quite accidentally—the gin turned her face away but told us what the stones were (would you call them churingas too?) when she realized that we already knew. Once the stone of wisdom (weighing about eight or ten pounds) was hidden in our creek bed. From here it was carried to the corroboree or Old Men's fire and when not in use it was hidden in the creek bed again. The Oongudyu stone symbol of Old Men's authority was kept hidden in the sandstone hollow somewhere in the sandhills near the Old Men's meeting place.

"Re circumcision. The Birra birra and a small tribe called the Mokiwarri (Pigeon) were an uncircumcised tribe, but the Eagle-hawks and the Emu people, their conquerors, practised circumcision and gradually the Birra Birra and Pigeon youth were absorbed and circumcised along with the Eaglehawk and Emu boys. No one seemed to think much of the Pigeon tribe, they were weak and spindly, uncertain and given to close intermarriage, consequently they lacked vigour and robust primitive intellect. Our tribes (Emu-Kangaroo, Dragonfly and Eagle-hawks) had a legend that women raided the men's camp one day and carried off some boys, circumcised them and left them in a gully for the men to find. The result was a

terrific fight in which men tribes called out the Dog-totem men who fought the women and eventually drove them off the field but, says the legend, didn't actually defeat them. As Moses, our educated stockman, put it, 'their heads were bloody but unbowed'! To-day the plain between the Three mile (Rocky) and the sandhills towards Teeta Lake (eight miles west of the homestead) is covered with red stones, once laid in small rings, but now scattered by stock, sands and winds. These stones are said to represent dog totem men who were killed in the fight. I once saw a symbolic enacting of this legend. Gins lined up on one side with fighting poles and men on the other side with waddies, forming two long lines and these raced towards each other brandishing poles and waddies and yelling and hitting no one. Gradually the men took charge and chased the women off the flat. So all ended happily and honour (male honour) was satisfied.

"Re your note about the circles on the hill? This, if out my way—the Diamantina—would probably mean a Yoolaburra or Old Men's parliament. This is usually on a clear spot in a secluded flat or on a rise. The inside circle may be 30 ft. while the outer circle sixty to eighty feet in circumference. It is difficult to say. What might mean one thing in a western tribe may mean something quite different in an eastern tribe. To me it sounds like a sun circle, where Old Men (Elders) gather to make sun worship. Out here—Farrar's creek Diamantina—the Old Men make three circles, the largest about twelve or fifteen feet in circumference. The smallest inner circle is outlined in white with stones here and there to indicate compass points. The second circle a little larger is usually outlined in red ochre and the largest outside circle is done in yellow. Sometimes the order of the colours are reversed. This is a sun circle used in rain-making or in making the sun grow hot to

hasten the ripening of fruit and grass seed or hasten the flowering plants and the breeding of small creatures dependent on these things for food. The gins have their own corroborees, spells and songs quite apart from the men. I have known two sorceresses—doing quite a thriving trade and had the men by the ears too. We used to call one of their spell-casting rituals the 'Scold's corroboree.' There was nothing the men could do about it either. Contrary to usual white belief the women in a well conducted tribe had great power—they had their own lodges too and their own kadaitcha methods too. Oolapoorunja, they called it—meaning the 'Changed One.' I have often talked to the 'Changed One.' By our standards she was very mild but the men and gins went in holy terror of her machinations.

"To get back to circles: The gins have circles connected with Love-spells and children's ceremonies. I have attached a description of some Diamantina aborigine customs and ceremonies. The bush willow or Clemency bush was 'owned' by Monkeemi, the little grey wind of the dawn. When we were children and the gins wanted us to promise not to reveal secrets they told us, we were made to swear over a tiny fire lighted beneath a bush willow. By the breath of Monkeemi we promised not to tell. This was the most sacred and most binding oath that an uninitiated person could swear.

"The Moon: The new moon is the sign or symbol of the young spearsmen called Gadari or kudari in the Eaglehawk tribe. It is also the sign of the Mooncult or Virgin ceremonies involving the mutilation of young women. When rain threatens the gins say: 'Old woman carrying her piccaninny.' When no rains are forecast they say: 'Old woman nursing her piccaninny.' 'Carrying her piccaninny' means to take it to the sandhills or higher ground out of flood mark. 'Nursing her piccaninny' means that all is well—no flood threat. The new

moon also figures in love songs and wishes. The new moon is called upon in a certain portion of the gin's flower calendar when magic is made to win the love of a boy or to bring an overdue lover back from his wanderings.

"About the totem poles? Our tribes certainly used poles carefully decorated, some of them (with dots of white and yellow ochre) were, and on the top of most was tied a bunch of feathers or a strip of fur indicating some totemic festival. Sometimes a cross-like contraption tied with string of human hair was used. This was called Wanninga. Wanninga was fashioned of 'sung' hair, string, twine, tufts of fur and feathers rubbed over with grease or sweat of totems. It usually occupied the centre of the corroboree ground. Sometimes the men formed two lines (spears in their hands) and carried the wanninga between in a sort of Grand March round the corroboree circle, chanting some dirge to the spirit folk whom the wanninga was supposed to represent. This seemed to please the spirits and the spirit-kinsmen and they came along to watch the ceremony and afterwards (usually) granted the requests made by the blacks.

"Re aboriginal relics in this district. I know nothing of any relics or corroboree rings about here. But that doesn't say that they don't exist. Perhaps some of the Pioneers could tell you if you could contact them? Doesn't Miss McConnel know? Or can't she make enquiries through her relatives and friends?

"Where did the circumcised tribes come from—and when? Some, I think, came from the north and some from the south. I have no reason for saying this except that the blacks themselves told me so and used to show me the stars that these people followed—or checked up their position at night. Showed me also by means of a mud map the route taken by one wave and the route taken by another wave of men,

where they approximately 'sat down' and broke up or went on their way. For according to these aborigines there was more than one wave of 'new' circumcised men and they spread over all the south-west and the south inland. They left hidden 'Mo-eera' stone or wooden symbols (I expect you would call those churingas too?) at certain points of their travels. Old Men and Medicine Men (usually these terms denote the same thing, since all Old Men are Medicine Men in some form or other) can find them and they are stored in secret recesses away from the eyes of ordinary men. I have never seen one but we were twice hustled away from the supposed home of a 'moeera.' A moeera was an emblem presented by one Old Man or Medicine Man to another to give him authority to perform secret rites or make corroboree. Without a moeera symbol no Old Man could perform a corroboree. Sometimes these are stolen and involve blood feuds for generations.

"Snake sticks: My snake stick is a carpet snake; just a normal snake with markings and the stick about 3 ft. 6 ins. in height—could be used as an increase spirit stick with certain totemic ritual or then again the stick could be used when paying homage to the Sandhill God—Boonamin.

"Toy Churingas: As far as I know there were no actual toy churingas or symbols. That is, all these things had some sort of degree of sacredness—even the little ones. So I think any that you see or any that you get is the real Mackay. To some aborigines many of these things meant much more than perhaps to others. It is certain that children's symbol sticks (churinga?) like the Yekirri formed a stepping stone in discipline and knowledge to the more sacred tribal churingas. But they were not toys and possessed a certain significance and gave even the youngest child a certain tribal status. Most churingas are revered if not

actually sacred at all times. The names are not shouted or bandied in conversation. The youngsters even had to observe and preserve a quiet, most respectful form of behaviour, otherwise they would be deprived of their yekirris by the head man. This was very shameful and the youngster would be shunned by his playmates until he made amends. So you see discipline was early with the aborigines. Some churinga were never shown to the gins—but they seemed to know all about them just the same. Some churinga were never shown to man, being 'women's business,' and the men never discussed them.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. A. M. DUNCAN-KEMP."

South Pacific Commission : Publication Funds.

Sir,

In a letter in the September number of MANKIND Mr. F. D. McCarthy draws attention to the lack of funds in Australia for publishing the results of anthropological research carried out over the past twenty years.

This material handicap to scientific work has been a matter of some concern to the Research Council of the South Pacific Commission, which had not been functioning long before it became apparent that important research had been undertaken in the Pacific islands but that, in cases where it has not been published, its very existence was often unknown even to specialists.

To assist in remedying this situation the Commission, at its Eighth Session, provided a small sum to be used to assist the publication of research studies, of sufficiently high standard and practical importance, relating to social development topics within the Commission area. This assistance is available as a grant-in-aid to ensure the

publication of such studies, either in book form or occasionally as articles in learned journals.

As the publication funds are limited, it is necessary to have any manuscript submitted read by appropriate experts, who then advise on its value in relation to the Commission's activities. If assistance is recommended and approved, arrangements are made with a commercial firm or specialist journal for its publication, the Commission usually making its contribution in the form of a grant towards printing costs.

Of grants made so far, one has been to the Fiji Society to assist in the publication of its Transactions for the period 1941-1950 and another to the Auckland Institute and Museum to assist in the printing of a Gela-English dictionary by Dr. C. E. Fox. Other grants are being made to scientific periodicals for publishing shorter studies on subjects of interest to the Commission which, from lack of space or other reason, they would not otherwise be able to accept.

Apart from printed publication, the Commission undertakes the reproduction by microfilming (or some similar process) of valuable linguistic manuscripts—grammars, dictionaries and the like—on or in island vernaculars.

In such cases the Commission retains the microfilm negative, deposits a copy in a designated "library of deposit" in the appropriate metropolitan country and makes further copies available at cost price to research workers and scientific organizations. This procedure, while not having the advantages of printing, does at least ensure that important studies are safely preserved.

However competently research work is done, it can be of little positive benefit to the islands and their peoples unless it is published, or at least made available for consultation by others. I should, therefore, be glad to hear of further unpublished manuscripts

likely to be eligible for Commission assistance and, if they are found suitable, to endeavour to arrange for their publication.

H. E. MAUDE.

Box 5254, G.P.O.,
Sydney.

UNESCO: Preservation of Archaeological Sites and Relics.

Sir,

At the Fifth Session of the Unesco Conference held at Florence, 1950, a number of resolutions were passed, authorising the Director-General to take action on this subject. These resolutions, together with the programme proposed by the Executive Board for submission to the Sixth General Conference, were considered by the Australian National Co-operating Body for Museums at its meeting in March, 1951. The content of these resolutions and an indication of the action taken on them are set out below.

The first of the resolutions passed by the Fifth General Conference authorised the Director-General to set up an international committee to serve as an advisory body for Unesco on the conservation, protection and restoration of monuments, artistic and historical sites and archaeological excavations. An advisory board, known as the Consultative Committee on Museums, has now been set up, and consists of seven members, together with a corresponding member for each member state. Mr. H. M. Hale, Director of the South Australian Museum, has been nominated as the corresponding member of the committee for Australia.

The second resolution authorised the Director-General to organize, on request, a technical mission for the purpose of giving advice and assistance to a member State experiencing difficulty in ensuring the conservation or restoration of its monuments or historic and archaeological sites. As an indication of the nature of the work being

carried out in accordance with this resolution, I would refer you to the Unesco publication *Museum*, in particular Vol. 3, Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Copies of these issues of *Museum* may be inspected at the branch office of the Office of Education in your State. You will be interested to know that a similar resolution was passed at the Sixth Session of Unesco General Conference held in Paris in June-July last year.

The third resolution of the Fifth General Conference on this subject instructed the Director-General to collect and disseminate information on the protection of objects of cultural value against the dangers of armed conflict. The Unesco Secretariat accordingly submitted to member States during 1950 a questionnaire concerning the measures that had been taken by them for the protection of objects of cultural value in time of war. This questionnaire was referred by this office to the relevant Commonwealth and State Departments, and the replies received from those bodies have been forwarded to Unesco Secretariat.

A further resolution of the Fifth Conference authorises the Director-General to prepare and submit to member States a draft for an international convention for the protection, in case of war, of monuments and other objects of cultural value. In this connection a draft international convention which had been submitted to the Fifth Session by the Italian Delegation, was forwarded by the Director-General to member States for their observations and comment. It was the general consensus of opinion among Australian authorities that the proposals contained in the draft convention were not practical, and the Unesco Secretariat was advised to this effect. The comments of member States on this draft convention were submitted to the Sixth Unesco General Conference held in Paris recently, and the Conference resolved that, after consultation with all States, whether members of Unesco

or not, a draft international convention on this subject should be submitted to the General Conference at its Seventh Session in 1952.

The final resolution passed by the Fifth General Conference regarding the preservation of archaeological sites and relics instructed the Director-General to submit to the Sixth Session a report on the advisability of adopting an international convention instituting a special tourist tax, the proceeds of which would be reserved in part for the preservation of museums and monuments in the signatory countries and in part for an international fund controlled by Unesco. The comment of Australian authorities was that the proposal to institute a tourist tax was impracticable and that consideration should be given to some more practical means of establishing an international fund.

This matter was again discussed at the Sixth Session of the Unesco General Conference, and a resolution was passed authorising the Director-General to report to the Seventh Session on the possibility of establishing, by an international convention or by other appropriate means, an international fund for the maintenance of museums, monuments and collections possessing universal interest.

You may also be interested to learn that the National Co-operating Body for Museums, at its meeting last March, decided that a recommendation should be made to the respective State Governments for the introduction of legislation, similar to that existing in other countries, for the preservation of archaeological sites, human remains and relics. As the first step in this connection this office has sought information from the Director-General of Unesco concerning legislation of this character which is in force or under consideration in other countries. When this information has been received an approach will be made to the various State Governments. As you may know, a draft legislation on the subject of preservation of archaeological sites was drawn up some time ago by the Anthropological Society of New South Wales and is at present under consideration by the N.S.W. Government.

I trust that the above statement concerning Unesco's activities for the preservation of historical monuments and objects of archaeological and cultural value will meet your needs.

Yours faithfully,

R. C. MILLS,

*Director, Commonwealth
Office of Education.*

The Australian Anthropological Association

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OBJECTS.

- (a) To promote the science of Anthropology.
- (b) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.
- (c) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.
- (d) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W. as such is not responsible for any opinion or declaration published in this magazine, by whomsoever expressed, unless specifically stated to be so by the Editor.

All communications, MSS., and proposed advertisements to be addressed to Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., Editor, City of Sydney Public Library, George Street, Sydney.

Persons interested in the work of the Society please address correspondence to the Hon. Secretary.

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